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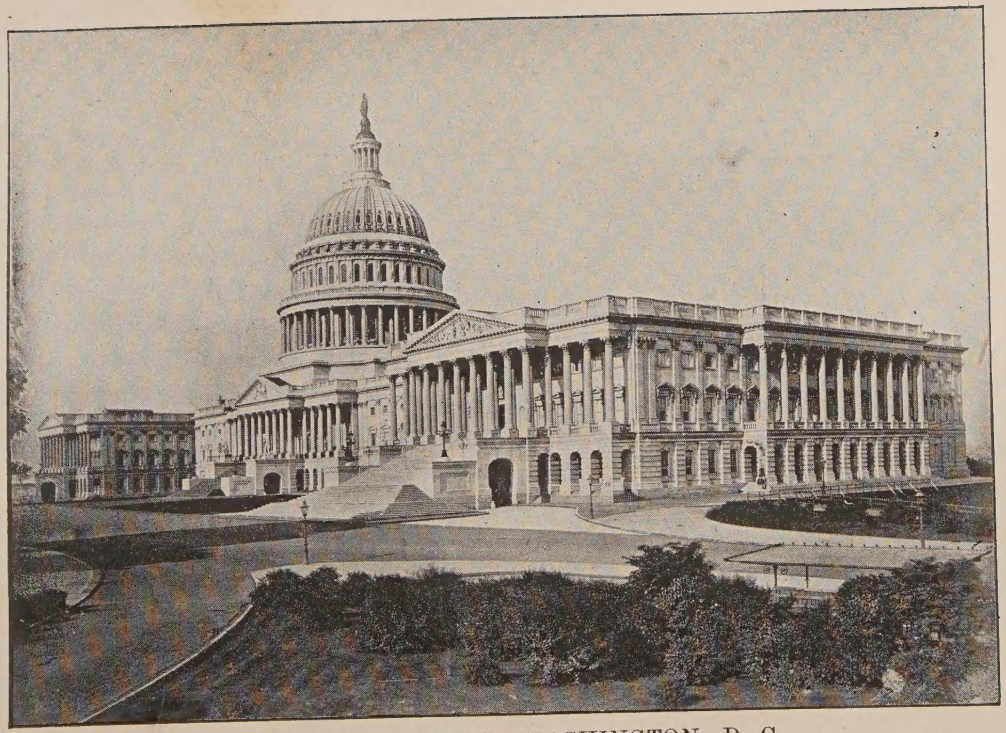

NATIONAL CAPITAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

MEN AND ISSUES OF '92.

A GRAND NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

CONTAINING

PHOTOGRAPHS

OF LEADING MEN OF ALL PARTIES;

WITH A FULL AND FAIR PRESENTATION OF THE

GREAT NATIONAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

PROTECTION—FREE TRADE—THE McKINLEY BILL—RECIPROCITY—THE SILVER QUESTION—BI-METALISM, MONO-METALISM, ETC.

ALSO THE LIVES OF

REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC

CANDIDATES FOR

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT,

WITH NATIONAL PLATFORMS.

BY JAMES P. BOYD, A. M.,

AUTHOR OF THE LIVES OF "GRANT," "SHERMAN" AND "SHERIDAN."

PUBLISHERS UNION.

1892.

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INTRODUCTORY.

A National Election in a Republic of forty-four States, embracing well nigh 65,000,000 freemen, is imposing as a spectacle and momentous as an event. All the world looks upon it with curious eyes and anxiously awaits its results.

In the almost magical evolution of new ideas and in the bewildering whirl of events which characterize American progress, a short four-year term of political administration serves to fix the date, if it does not establish the necessity, for a grand National audit.

The questions which spring spontaneously from a rich loam of thought, or which grow and shape under the gardening hand of statesmen, organizations and political parties, and which do not, or cannot, find solution in regular legislation, are naturally and properly crowded over into the campaign year. They are carried, as it were, by popular appeal into the high court of the people, where final hearing and arbitrament is sought as in a tribunal of last resort.

The American people, by virtue of intelligence, patriotism and sense of responsibility, do not shrink from the grave duty of hearing and judging what has thus been referred to them. Indeed, they regard the electoral privilege as their one glorious opportunity, and the year of a National campaign is to them a year of anxious inquiry, quickened perception, keen mental excitement, strenuous exertion and not a little hurly burly. This is entirely as it should be. It

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is highly creditable to them as factors of the body politic and as judges in an august tribunal. Nothing so intensifies the interest in and exalts the importance of a National campaign and nothing so sanctifies its results to every participant.

What more noticeable to even the careless observer than the fact that each National campaign opens a series of questions which come down closer and closer to the people and touch more and more deeply their very pockets, personal comfort and general welfare, and just in the same proportion the people, responsive as an electric current, rise to the discussion and study of those questions, broaden their reasons to new situations and throw their hearts into successive campaigns and elections. A vote to-day is fuller of significance than ever before.

No sight is more sublime than that of 12,000,000 of voters wrestling with the problems that concern their dinner pails and contents, their hats and coats, their daily wages, their home productions, the worth of their dollars. Nor is there anything so inspiring to honorable citizenship or more hopeful for the perpetuity and progress of the Republic than the thought that each voter feels that his destiny is in his own keeping and that he is at liberty to shape it as he will.

It is just as noticeable and as much of a fact that as these questions descend toward the people at large and they rise to meet them, the old fashioned partisan narrowness and party bitterness of the National campaign give place to a more genial and liberal spirit. Fanaticism yields to tolerance; denunciation to discussion; bigotry to patient hearing. Blind partyism merges in the greater problems of general welfare and National honor. A campaign year may still be one of excitement and enthusiasm. Political waves may run high and dash about furiously. But these are no

longer devastating. Their roar is not a menace to peace. Their clash does not mean destruction. They speedily dissolve in the great sea of tolerance and the spirit of liberality broods o'er the deep.

Never in all our political history has the National campaign year brought broader, deeper and more pervading questions down closer to the people. There is not an issue that does not touch a vital spot in what most concerns the masses. Parties may proclaim and plead, politicians may conjure and manipulate, but the questions are pre-eminently of and for the people. They are questions of economy, home, family, labor, food, clothing, personal rights, money. They will make of the campaign a school of education, and the school will swarm with interested and enthusiastic scholars, all intent on knowing what is best for their comfort and prosperity.

This work has been written with a view of providing a text-book for the scholars in the universal school of the National campaign. It has been made broad and full, so as to embrace the questions that press for solution and present them without reference to preconceived notions or partisan leanings. It regards the entire mass of voters, all the people, as scholars, and endeavors to simplify for them the lessons presented by the campaign, no matter to what party they belong. It presumes that the seriousness of the questions, their intimacy with every personal concern, the immense influence their decision will have upon the enjoyment and prosperity of the citizen and voter, demands for them impartial consideration, and that every one will be glad of the opportunity to consider them in their historic rather than in their limited party bearings.

The mission of the ordinary campaign book passed with the era of narrow and bitter partisanship and with the com-

ing down to the voter of the very class of questions which distinguish the National election of this year. The time, the duty to be performed, the character of the issues, require that full, dispassionate and historic presentation which we have aimed at. We have striven to be plain even to the level of the commonest understanding. We have sought to enlighten generally, leaving the result entirely to the reader and trusting entirely to his judgment as to what is best for him in a political and party sense, after he is informed in a general sense.

The subjects amplified in the above spirit are Free-trade, Protection, Silver Coinage, Tariff Legislation, the new policy of Reciprocity, all of which are championed or opposed by statesmen, legislators and party leaders, whom it is desirable to see and to know better. They are given a place in the book, with their biographies. Excellent photographs of nearly one hundred of them are presented, greatly adding to the worth and beauty of the book.

In accordance with the design of the book a large space is devoted to biographies of the National Candidates. These biographies are full and complete and are accompanied by excellent portraits of their subjects.

Valuable tabular and historic matter relating to former Presidential elections are given and add much to the value of a work devised in the interest of, and written plainly and carefully for, a people who have in their hands, on the momentous occasion of a National election, the choice of their Chief Magistrate for a period of four years, and the decision of measures which intimately concern their welfare and may affect their prosperity and happiness for all time. The consciousness that such a work is timely and will have a high mission has greatly lightened the labor of preparing it.

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CAMPAIGN ISSUES OF 1892.

THE political situation pending the Presidential election of 1892 is one of the most satisfactory since the adoption of the Constitution. It is free from the doubts and suspicions that existed from 1787 to the war of 1812. It is free from the vacillations up to 1824. It is free from the intrigues and bitter turmoils to 1861. It is free from the exceeding gravity of armed strife and problems of national unity and honor to 1884.

Not that something of all that ever went before will not be involved in the issues of 1892, but there is nothing on the surface to indicate a dangerous aggregation of the things which make people shudder at the thought of a national election and thank God that it is over.

The situation of 1892 has been pointed to by the attitude of parties, by the trend of political events, by the course of administrations, for some years. It is, therefore, a situation which is reasonably well understood by statesmen and political leaders. The issues are not novel. There are metes and bounds within which parties must play for supremacy.

Nothing has thus far developed to lead to the conviction that the personalism of candidates will cut any conspicuous figure in the campaign of 1892. This should be a matter of rejoicing. There is nothing so degrading as personal attack, nothing so humiliating as personal defence. The campaign of 1884 began on the very lowest plane of personal politics. It shamed both parties, disgusted adherents, disparaged our campaign methods, and diminished respect

for us at home and abroad. Happily the period of surfeit soon arrived, and the campaign took on more rational show. The questions that had been submerged beneath the vituperative wave reached the surface eventually, and reason found a throne. The deliberative mood, so violently ruffled at the start, may have remained nervous, but the vital issues got a fair hearing, after the initial storm blew over, and the result was such as the country could sanction.

Nor is there anything to indicate that partisanship of an ascerb or offensive kind need characterize the campaign. It is hardly a time for narrowness or bitterness. The issues are of a broad and serious nature. They concern people rather than parties. They reach further than mere triumphs and successes for organizations, and go down to the masses as servers of themselves rather than as servers of parties. Dispassionate discussion will operate as a more potential lever than heated words, loud expletives, incorrect assertions, false logic, and idle promises. The orator will have a mission of broader scope and greater merit than ever before. He will have more critical hearers, auditors more numerous and interested, audiences less vociferous, assemblages for thinking rather than for cheering and waving torches. There may be localities where the sound of bitterness shall be as sweetness, where the voice of malice shall win applause, and where the vituperative tongue shall wag with favor, but these will be wide apart. In general, conviction will be hard to clinch, and will refuse to be satisfied with the arts of abuse, the fires of denunciation, or the dynamite of malignity.

There is every reason to suppose that the activities and energies of the campaign will be unsurpassed. The reaching of the masses, without the aid of fiery display, and through another medium than the eye, the absence of

HON. LEON ABBETT.

Born in Philadelphia, October 8, 1836; educated for the bar; moved to Hoboken in 1862; appointed City Attorney in 1863; elected to General Assembly in 1864, as Democrat; acquired distinction as a speaker and parliamentarian; re-elected for next term; moved to Jersey City in 1866; elected for two terms to Assembly from First District of Hudson co.; a recognized party leader, distinguished for energy and ability; became Speaker of the House; elected to Senate in 1874; chosen Speaker of Senate in 1877; elected Governor of New Jersey in 1883; elected Governor a second time; prominently spoken of for position of United States Senator.

inflammatory opportunity, impose the burden of much assiduity upon leaders. We have all heard of "The School House Campaign" and "The Campaign of Education." The issues of 1892 require these. They mean tedious, prolonged, minute work, agency the most vigorous and untiring, energy the most restless and persevering, devotion the most sincere and uncompromising. Document rooms will shower their hitherto unrevealed treasures. Literary bureaus will pour forth their floods of persuasion. Clubs will inspire with their enthusiastic resolutions. Expounders will go up and down the land distributing wisdom at every corner store and cross-roads. Avenues will be provided for carrying the issues to every accessible part of the body politic, and enlightenment will reach deeper than ever before in our history. It is a pleasing contemplation that the verdict of 1892 will be full. It is equally pleasing to contemplate that it will be deliberate, and rendered only after intelligent and patient hearing. Since the asperities of civil war have been removed, there is really no occasion for other than dispassionate popular verdicts upon national questions, and it is complimentary to our civilization that parties are growing to place a higher value on such verdicts, and therefore becoming more willing to employ the agencies of industry, perseverance and minute detail to win them. What a blessing it will be when the era of wild declamation, partisan denunciation, vituperative epithet, inflammatory appeal, unscrupulous trick and villanous intrigue shall give place to honest, earnest presentation of issues, sincere persuasions, organized opportunities for all to hear, full and fair expression by ballot, faith in the popular verdict.

The year 1892 cannot escape the issue of the Tariff. There is no need of going further back than the Tariff Act of 1883 to find that Democratic and Republican lines were

hardening for battle on this issue, and that there would be no yielding till mastery was made emphatic at the polls. The Tariff Act of 1883, a Republican measure, was enacted amid a cloud of Republican reverses. The political tidal-wave of 1882, partially repeated in 1883, had turned the Republican majority of nineteen in the House of Representatives of the Forty-seventh Congress into a Democratic majority of sixty-nine in the Forty-eighth Congress. Many Governors had been lost to the Republicans in their strongest States. Under these circumstances the Tariff legislation which led to the Act of March 3, 1883, was hampered. Opposition was emboldened by Democratic successes, and advocacy was rendered nervous and halting. Though the legislation had for its guide the testimony taken by an able Tariff Commission, which sat at various places and heard testimony representative of all conflicting interests, during most of the year 1882; though said Commission had framed a lucid and exhaustive report for the use of Congress; though the object of legislation, to equalize rates and abolish the incongruities of existing tariffs, was kept steadily in view by the friends of revision, it cannot be said that the Act as an entirety was a success. It was too much in the nature of a compromise to please contending elements and sections, and the lower rates designed to benefit manufacturing sections drew the criticism and hostility of the producing sections.

The encouragement the Democrats had received in the elections of 1882–83, united with the demoralization which defeat had spread in Republican ranks, lent political importance to the Tariff, and drew more distinctly the lines between Protection and Free Trade as distinctive party issues. With the thought that they had the country with them, as indicated by the elections, and bent on taking advantage of

their majority in the House, the Democrats formulated what became known as the "Morrison Bill," or plan of "horizontal reduction of the Tariff," a general scaling of duties to the extent of twenty per cent. Though Mr. Carlisle, of Kentucky, had been elected speaker, as an exponent of this idea, it was picked to pieces by the protectionists in the Democratic ranks, and finally fell a prey to a motion to strike out the enacting clause.

While this was deemed a master stroke as a preparation for the Presidential Campaign of 1884, and as leaving the Democrats in a position where they would not be called upon to explain a doubtful method of attack upon existing tariffs, and while it served to keep the question of Free Trade and Protection in abeyance during the second and short session of the Forty-eighth Congress, December 1, 1884–March 4, 1885, it did not prevent its reappearance in the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress, December 7, 1885–August 6, 1886, in which there was a Democratic majority of forty-three votes. But meanwhile President Cleveland had delivered his inaugural, in which he had practically given away the case of the free trade element in his party and, though stopping short of the doctrine of protection, had landed pretty squarely on the position occupied by Mr. Randall and the "protection" minority in his own party. This served to dampen the ardor of those who had championed "horizontal reduction." The Morrison Bill appeared in fresh garb, to be sure, but it only proved to be a stumbling-block to its friends, and was finally defeated by a united Republican and Democratic vote, upon a motion to go into the Committee of the Whole to consider it as reported by the Committee of Ways and Means.

The situation was now anything but pleasant for the Democrats as a party, and especially for those who repre-

sented the free trade wing of the party, which was a large majority. In the Congressional Campaigns of 1886 there was a decided drift of sentiment toward the Republicans, who drew the lines sharply between Protection and Free Trade, and forced to the uttermost the advantage offered by the divided sentiment in the Democratic ranks. The Democratic majority of forty-three in the Forty-ninth Congress was reduced to a slender majority of fifteen in the Fiftieth Congress, and more than two-thirds of this loss of twenty-four members was fully and fairly accounted for by the distaste of constituents for the free trade leanings of the displaced members. It was very clear, then, that the attitude of parties respecting tariff legislation was such as that their political successes at the polls, and their majorities in the Congress, could be made to turn on opposition to or advocacy of the doctrines involved, viz.: Free Trade and Protection.

The successes of 1886 encouraged and emboldened the Republicans. They felt that they could do nothing more in accord with their traditions nor more conducive to party success than to fully elaborate the doctrine of Protection and press it as an issue. Driven home upon the Democrats, divided as they were, it would prove an entering wedge and assure their discomfiture. Then would come the opportunity to remedy the defects of the Act of 1883, and still further commit the party to protective measures. Sagacious men in the Democratic ranks saw the disadvantage they were laboring under. Division meant disaster. To retreat far enough to reorganize broken forces meant a confession of weakness or cowardice. Mr. Cleveland, in his message to the Forty-ninth Congress, at the opening of its second session, December 6, 1886, assured the Carlisle or free trade wing of the party of the encouragement of the admin-

HON. GEORGE D. WISE.

Born in Accomack co., Va., 1835; graduated from University of Indiana, and from Law School of William and Mary College, Va.; served throughout the war, in the Confederate army, as Captain and aid to General Stevenson; resumed practice of law in Richmond, Va.; elected Commonwealth Attorney in 1870, and to 1880; elected, as a Democrat, to 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st and 52d Congresses, to represent the Third Virginia District; member of Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and on Expenditures in Department of Justice; a pleasing orator and popular member.

istration. The Tariff was grappled with renewed energy, but the time of the session was frittered away by Committees of Conference, which repeatedly agreed to disagree.

Thus passed the Forty-ninth Congress, which was Democratic in the House. It had left Tariff legislation practically where it found it. The party stood badly in need of an issue which would harden its lines for the Campaign of 1888. It was manifest that the Republicans were about to stake their all on the policy of protection. Their lines were rapidly forming for battle upon that issue. What could the Democrats do but bravely form on the opposing side? Was it not time to precipitate a struggle and fight in real earnest all along the lines, instead of charging here and retreating there, obeying discordant leaders, falling a prey to divisions, promising and disappointing, venturing and failing, eternally?

This question was answered by President Cleveland in his celebrated message of only 4,500 words to the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, December 5, 1887. This message was in the nature of a special paper called forth by an existing demand for definite legislative action during the session. The character of the legislation demanded was not left in doubt, for the President cut entirely loose from the conservatism of former messages and boldly espoused the cause of the free trade wing of his party. This departure surprised everybody except the initiated. The bulk of the party hailed the message as a clear statement of a true situation, and as a timely declaration of the principles of Democracy as they must take shape in the next campaign. It threw around the free traders the cloak of "Tariff Reform," and left the "Revenue Reform" element of the party in the unenviable position of a minority too small to be considered, or weak enough to be crushed. The Republicans accepted it

as a gauntlet thrown into the arena, and prepared to act accordingly.

The Democrats were ably led in this Congress. Mr. Carlisle was re-elected Speaker. Mr. Mills, able, bold, untiring, took hold of the Tariff legislation which the Democrats were bound to present. He framed a bill which lowered existing rates of duty and placed many articles before dutiable, among them wool, on the free list. This bill was championed so ably and persistently that it passed the House by a majority of thirteen votes, and never were party lines more closely drawn on a bill of this kind in the lower chamber.

But it was to meet with a strange reception in the Senate. So much time had been expended upon it in the House, that for the Senate to consider it fully would be to unduly prolong an already lengthy session. Moreover, it was regarded as a bill prepared as a campaign issue, whose discussion in public was to be taken as an expression of the economic views of the Democratic party. It was therefore met in the Senate by another bill, which had been laboriously prepared and lengthily debated, but not passed, which embodied the Republican doctrine of Protection, and whose discussion in public would set forth the economic views of the Republican party. The two houses, as well as the two parties, were now squarely opposed, and ready to go to the country on the issue as made up. Mr. Cleveland, who had so bravely and timely struck in the direction of an affirmative stand by his party, became its logical candidate, and was nominated by acclamation. The Republicans chose Benjamin Harrison, who was as pronounced for Protection as Mr. Cleveland was for Tariff Reform. The campaign was clean, earnest, determined. The country was in a deliberative mood. The central issue was seldom befogged. Not, for years, had there been such opportunity for mature

judgment. The popular verdict favored the Republicans. In the Fifty-first Congress, they converted the former Democratic majority of fifteen into a Republican majority of ten.

Despite these reverses, Mr. Cleveland, in his message to the second session of the Fiftieth Congress, December 3, 1888, and the Democratic leaders in general, remained firmly adhesive to the "Tariff Reform" faith, whose banners they had carried during the Presidential campaign. In this they were consistent and hopeful. One battle does not necessarily settle a war. Time would come to their aid. The responsibility of an affirmative was now with the Republicans. This fact would serve to heal Democratic differences. They might be stronger on the defensive than in direct attack.

The Republicans of the 51st Congress, encouraged by their newly-elected President, and led by Reed and McKinley in the House, and Sherman and Aldrich in the Senate, took early advantage of their victory to formulate a Tariff Bill more in consonance with the views of the party, and in closer keeping with their doctrine of Protection than the Act of 1883 had ever been. This bill drew party lines quite as close as the Mills Bill of the prior Congress. After full and prolonged debate it became the Tariff Act of October 1, 1890, popularly known as the "McKinley Act."

It gave emphasis to the Republican doctrine of Protection by an attempt to remove the incongruities of the Tariff of 1883, many of which had become glaring as time progressed, by raising duties on industries, notably those of wool and woolens, which experience had shown were not amply protected, by lowering duties on articles whose home manufacture had been sufficiently established, by imposing rates on, for instance, tin plate, with a view to establishing new

industries, by enlarging the free list, especially as to articles like sugar, a necessary of life, and which had all along borne a duty for revenue only, by offering a bounty to home sugar growers, by incorporating into its provisions the policy of reciprocity, designed to extend trade with those countries most affected by the enlargement of the free list.

This legislation was the most pronounced and comprehensive in the history of Tariff Acts. Nothing could have been more defiant of the attitude assumed by the Democrats as a party. Defeated at every point in the House, the Senate, and by the Harrison administration, they carried their contest to the country in the elections of November, 1890, and for members to the 52d Congress. Such was the fury and persistency of their attack, and such the peculiar state of public mind, that the magnitude of their success was surprise even to themselves. They elected even more Governors in Republican States than in 1882–83. They turned the Republican majority in the 51st Congress into a Democratic majority of more than two-thirds in the 52d Congress. Everywhere they proclaimed their signal triumphs as a national rebuke of the theories and methods of Protectionists, and a national vindication of the principles of Tariff Reform. True, other than strictly tariff issues were injected into the campaign, and affected it seriously. True, arguments on economic questions were loose, and based on anticipation of facts, rather than on facts established. But these did not serve to diminish the importance of the victory to the Democrats.

In a deliberative review of the elections of 1890, the Hon. John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, thus sketches causes and effects :—

"So great a political revolution as has been effected by

HON. JOHN B. ALLEN.

Born at Crawfordsville, Ind., May 18, 1845; educated at Wabash College; served in Union army, in 135th Indiana Volunteers; moved to Rochester, Minn., and resided there until 1870; admitted to bar and began practice; In 1870 moved to Washington Territory and resumed practice of law; appointed United States District Attorney for Washington, 1875; continued in said office till 1885; Reporter of Supreme Court of Washington, 1878–85; elected Territorial Delegate to 51st Congress; on admission of State, elected United States Senator, as a Republican, for term beginning December 2, 1889, and ending March 3, 1893; Chairman of Committee on Canadian Relations and member of Committees on Claims, Public Lands, etc.

HON. CHARLES E. BELKNAP.

Born at Massena, St. Lawrence co., N. Y., October 17, 1846; moved with parents to Grand Rapids, Mich., 1855; left school, August 14, 1862, and enlisted in 21st Michigan Volunteers; promoted to Captain January 22, 1864, at the age of 17 yrs., 3 mos.; served till end of war in Army of Cumberland; wounded seven times; engaged in manufacturing business; served terms as Chief of Grand Rapids Fire Department; member of Board of Control of State Institutions; Alderman and Mayor; elected to 51st Congress as a Republican; elected to 52d Congress, by 1500 majority, November 3, 1891; member of Committees on Military Affairs and Patents; an earnest worker and stout defender of Republicanism.

the recent election cannot be accounted for by the stereotyped statement that this was an 'off year' and a full vote was not polled, or that local divisions and dissensions diverted the attention of the people from the public questions involved. There has scarcely, if ever, been a Congressional campaign in this country in which purely local questions were so little discussed, or in which local party or personal dissensions had so little influence as the one just closed. With perhaps a very few exceptions, the use of money for the purpose of corruption had little or no influence upon the result, and it may, therefore, be properly accepted as the deliberate judgment of a large majority of the people upon the questions submitted to them.

"If the result of an election in this country means anything, if the people by their votes actually pronounce judgment upon the public questions submitted to them, the result of the recent one is undoubtedly an emphatic and conclusive condemnation of the Tariff Act, and its kindred measures granting bounties and subsidies to private enterprises. By the tariff schedules the whole people are taxed for the benefit of a few. Such a gross abuse of the power of taxation evry naturally alarmed the whole country.

"The proposed Federal Election Law was another measure which the people did not expect, and for which the country was not prepared. The Force Bill is better calculated than any other measure that could have been devised, to demoralize labor and destroy the value of investments at the South; and this, in fact, will be about the only practical effect of its passage, because no statute can permanently control the political action of the people in this country. It is evident that the country does not want such a law, and

the Senate will probably allow it to die on the calendar and be buried with other rubbish at the end of the session.

"There has never been in our history a more extravagant Congress than the present one. It is doubtful whether its prodigality in the expenditure of the public money has ever been equalled by any body of legislators, except the itinerant statesmen who infested some of the capitals in the Southern States during the period of reconstruction. Large expenditures afford an excuse for heavy taxation, and, therefore, economy in the administration of public affairs is regarded by many Protectionists as inconsistent with the fiscal policy of that party, and is condemned for that reason.

"The rules of the present House were so framed, and the authority of the Speaker and the Committee on Rules has been so exercised, as to enable the majority in that body at any time to put an end to all opposition to its measures and pass them in any form it may choose. If the rules, unjust as they are to the minority, had been strictly adhered to in the transaction of business, there would have been at least a limited opportunity for debate and amendment, and no important measure could have been passed without something like proper consideration. But notwithstanding the unfair advantage held by the majority under this severe and unprecedented code of rules, it was not satisfied with the almost absolute power conferred upon it and its presiding officer."

The above, coming from one of the foremost and clearest-headed of the Democratic leaders, may be accepted as the judgment of the party. In it may also be found the satisfaction of the party with its position and its determination to fight to the end upon the lines laid down in that and previous campaigns. It was with this determination that

the elated Democratic majority entered upon its career in the 52d Congress. Flushed with success, it rallied around its logical and best equipped economic leader, Mr. Mills, of Texas, father of the Mills' Bill in the 49th Congress, and would gladly have honored him with the Speaker's Chair, which would have given full play to his powers. But there suddenly came a change of sentiment in Democratic councils. Mr. Mills had won fame as an ardent, indefatigable, able and honest advocate of the anti-protection measures of his party. He had appeared on the stump in many States during the campaign of 1890, and had been outspoken in his views respecting the doctrines of Free-trade and Protection. Under ordinary circumstances he might have been entrusted with the leadership of his party, but the circumstances were not ordinary. In the overwhelming Democratic majority in the House there were seeds of danger. Excess might dwarf and blight success. Democrats really feared to trust themselves. It was well known what Mr. Mills would do. He could not, in vindication of his past efforts and out of respect to his present judgment and to the verdict of the country, but hew to the lines he had laid down in the 49th Congress, and in his subsequent career. This meant a Tariff Act as a counter to the McKinley Act. For this the party did not seem to be ready, despite the emphatic verdict of the country, and its loud and oft repeated professions of Tariff Reform.

The time had come for shaping lines for the Presidential campaign of 1892. While no abatement of the free trade or tariff reform sentiment was noticeable, while the determination was still paramount to continue hostility to the Republican doctrine of protection as embodied in the Tariff Act of 1890, and to repeat, if possible, the splendid triumphs of that year in a Presidential campaign, it was

deemed wisest not to antagonize too much in advance and too directly the doctrines they hoped to overwhelm in the end. Ere the Fifty-first Congress could assemble in December, 1891, there were evidences of reaction in the public mind. A suspicion began to dawn that, after all, the situation of 1890 might not prove to be as real as it had been pictured. At any rate, there was no need of taking any risks. Mr. Mills was sacrificed, and Mr. Crisp, of Georgia, was given the gavel. Out of this sprang the plan of indidirect, rather than direct, attack upon the doctrine of protection; attacks by piecemeal rather than by stupendous charge.

The large Democratic majority in the Fifty-second Congress adopted this plan, not heartily, but as an expedient. It would serve all the purposes of keeping party lines defined, of pressing Tariff Reform as a party measure, and of exposing the fallacies of Protection. It would be free from the dangers which attended the opening of the whole tariff subject in a House composed of so many untried members, each inordinately flushed by his victory at the polls. If it involved disrespect for the popular verdict, the use of discretion was urged as an excuse. If it proved disappointing to constituents, promise of the later, greater and grander victory in store, was the ointment of healing. If it showed that the party lacked the courage of its convictions, it was answered that diplomacy was wiser than haste. If the charge of cowardice was made, the adage was handy that "to divide and conquer" was one of the oldest and best approved of the arts of war.

And so there came into the Congress no definite, entire Tariff Act, but a series of measures, attacking what was deemed most offensive in the Act of 1890. These were debated with great fullness, and so as to serve the object of

HON. THOMAS C. PLATT.

Born in Owego, N. Y., July 15, 1833; studied at Yale College; became President of Tioga, N. Y., National Bank, and engaged in lumber business in Michigan; elected to Congress, as a Republican, 1872–74; elected to U. S. Senate, January 18, 1881; resigned with Roscoe Conkling, May, 1881; defeated for re-election; Secretary and Director of U. S. Express Co., 1879; President of same since 1880; Commissioner of Quarantine, N. Y., 1880–1888; member of Republican National Conventions, 1876–80–84–88–92; President of Southern Central R. R. since 1888; conspicuous in Republican National Convention of 1892 as leader of Blaine forces; an acute and natural party leader in New York.

their introduction, to wit, the feeling of its way on the part of the majority, and the keeping on parade the iniquities they were aimed at. There was no manifest faltering of party lines during these debates, though individual members of certain sections expressed dissent by vote when they felt that the interests of their constituents would be touched adversely. This was notably the case with the bill to place wool on the free list and to reduce the duties on woolens, which bill was the first of the series submitted for debate, and perhaps the most important of the series.

What was remarkable about this method was the fact that it served the purpose of satisfying so large and enthusiastic a majority, and that, too, in the face of the daily growing fact that interest in the plan faded as the session dragged along. Members seemed to reconcile themselves to it solely for its time-consuming features, although they had come with bosoms full of revenge and brains full of overwhelming measures. The excuse grew familiar, that there was really no use bothering about such legislation at all, since it was sure to be crushed by an adverse Senate or President. It was a time for abeyance rather than positive assertion, and the time would be short. The momentum acquired by the elections of 1890 would serve to carry the party over the chasms of 1892, without the intervention of bridges built out of the composite and doubtful material found in a suddenly acquired and untried House majority of two-thirds.

The elections of 1891, and the spring of 1892, were far from assuring to the Democrats. The operations of the Tariff of 1890 were subverting many of their theories, disappointing their promises and dissipating their facts. In a more dispassionate discussion of the merits of the Act than any that had been had, between men better equipped for argument than usual, and at a time when mere visions and

declamations could not be made to do duty as logic, the champion of the Act of 1890 was elected the Governor of his State by a large majority. The Rhode Island contest was similar to that in Ohio, in the respect that it turned almost solely on the merits of Protection and Free Silver Coinage, both questions of national moment.

But even if these evidences of reaction had not occurred, the Republicans could not have changed their fighting-ground for 1892. Their commitment to the Tariff Act of 1890, and to the policy of Protection it involved, was complete. They made the most of their brief innings, took a very bold affirmative, staked the success of their party on their legislation, and so must be bound by the consequences, not only for this but for several campaigns, for it is in the very nature of Tariff legislation that it is necessarily thrown on the defensive for a long time. Its merits are never fully manifest except after prolonged trial. The business interests touched, and at large, are impatient of tampering with legislation that so vitally concerns them.

It is not, therefore, possible for either of the great parties to escape the issue of Protection and Free Trade, or Tariff Reform, in 1892. Their histories for ten years lead to this issue at this time. The battle will be fought with greater stubbornness and with better defined lines than ever before. The victory will be more decisive for the winning side.

Another issue, one hardly less important and equally inevitable, will be the Free Coinage of silver. The Democratic party is not such a unit upon this question as to make it a desirable issue, but it is one with which a majority of that party has coquetted so long, and in their strongest States, as that there is no rational escape from it.

Of it, the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge says:—

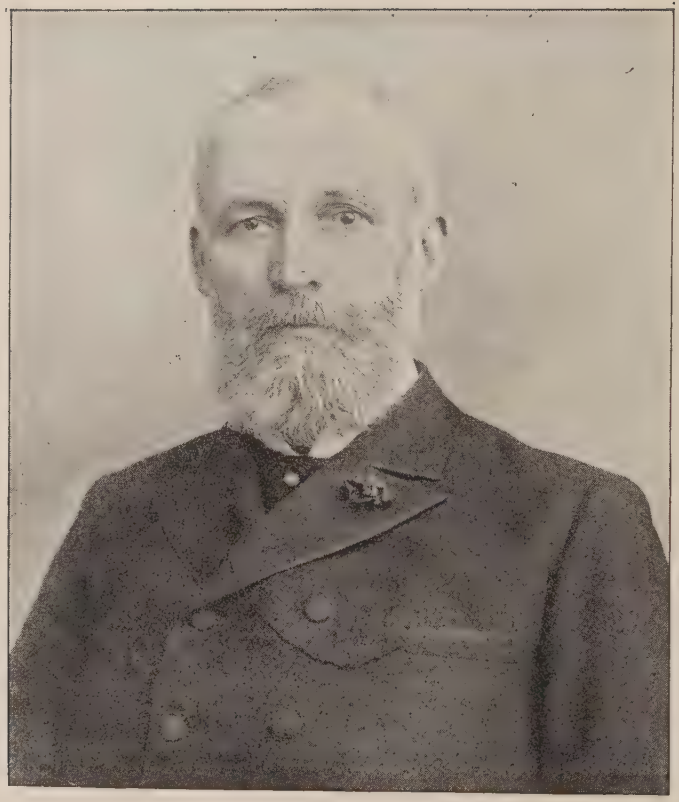
"There are always a good many people who are capti-

vated by the cry of 'cheaper money;' and recently, from one cause or another, there has been sufficient financial stringency to make the demand for cheaper money peculiarly strong and widespread. But that which now really forces the question of free coinage of silver so strongly to the front is the fact that it has been made a test question by large bodies of voters who have been drawn into certain new political movements, of which the most conspicuous is the Farmers' Alliance. These movements are not confined to farmers or men of any particular occupation. A wave of unrest and dissatisfaction with existing social conditions is passing over the country, and has had many and varied manifestations, chiefly of a socialistic tendency. Their intensity and enduring qualities have not yet been measured, although it is quite obvious that in their present form they show no signs of permanence. Many desires, propositions, and demands, some of far-reaching character, have been made known, but the one question which has been put forward out of the mass, and which is to be made the test of loyalty and victory alike, is this question of free silver coinage, behind which lies the additional demand for cheap money. The free-silver movement existed long before the present agitation began, and finds support among large bodies of people who have no sympathy or connection with the general readjustment of social and financial arrangements which organizations like the Farmers' Alliance are demanding. For this very reason, free coinage becomes a peculiarly available issue for men bent on political changes of a much more fundamental and far-reaching character. Hence, the free coinage of silver comes daily more and more to the front, while the opposition to it, an essential in making up any issue, is as strong and determined as the forces united in its support.

"The attitude and condition of the two great parties tend also strongly in the same direction. The Democrats must champion free silver, while the Republican party must just as surely oppose it. As the foe of the Republicans, as the controlling ally of the Democrats, the Alliance can select its issue until its power wanes."

It is known that the Democratic and Republican parties drew wide apart, and with well-defined lines, respecting legislation upon the currency question during and subsequent to the war. They became particularly hostile during the discussions which led to the resumption of specie payments, against which the Democratic party threw itself squarely in 1876, and thus placed itself in position for that singular alliance with the "Greenback Party," which actually took place in several States, and that, too, under some of the most distinguished Democratic leaders. As the "Greenback Party" had for its main object the relief of financial stringency and business depression by using the Government credit in the shape of "Greenbacks," whose issue should be ample for the relief sought, it resembled in its object and in not a few of its essentials those who favor at present the free and unlimited coinage of silver dollars. And further, as the coalition between the Democrats and Greenbackers became so solid in the New England States, the great West and in nearly all the South, as that the two parties could with difficulty be distinguished, so now the Free Silverite and the Democrat are identical in a large part of the South and West.

One can hardly think that the gradual commitment of the Democratic party to Free Coinage was deliberate, or in accord with the better judgment of the party. While it very naturally opposed the legislation of 1873, which led to the demonetization of silver, it did not oppose it on that



HON. WILLIAM M. SPRINGER.

Born in Sullivan co., Indiana, May 30, 1836; moved to Illinois, 1848; graduated at Indiana State University, 1858; admitted to bar, 1859; Secretary of Illinois State Constitutional Convention, 1862; member of State Legislature, 1871–72; elected to represent Thirteenth District in Congress, in 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th and 51st Congresses; elected as a Democrat to 52d Congress by a majority of 5000; Chairman of Committee on Ways and Means; an excellent parliamentarian, able orator and recognized party leader; was prominent candidate for Speaker of 52d Congress.

ground, but because that legislation looked to the resumption of specie payments. When the Bland Bill of 1878 came up and was passed, to be vetoed, which bill had for its object the remonetization of silver by the compulsory coinage of $2,000,000 a month, the then Democratic House was able to muster to its aid sufficient Republican strength to pass it over the President's veto. This legislation, therefore, was not sufficiently Democratic in type to warrant the impression that the party was doing more than yielding to a demand from the silver-mining States, which might ultimately land them in the Democratic columns. Doubtless, the same thought largely actuated many of the Republicans who came to the support of the bill.

But be this as it may, it was not long before the Democrats cohered about the principle of silver coinage as embodied in the Bland Act. In the Second Session of the Forty-fifth Congress the Republicans made a determined effort to repeal the Act authorizing the Coinage of Bland dollars. In this they were defeated by an almost solid Democratic vote. Thus party lines became hardened on the silver question as it stood at that day.

At the Extra Session of the Forty-sixth Congress, called March 18, 1879, in which the Democrats had a majority in House and Senate, those of the House passed the Warner Silver Bill, which provided for the unlimited coinage of silver. Their majority in the Senate did not take to it kindly, and rebuked the House majority by refusing to consider it. In his message to the regular session of the Forty-sixth Congress, President Hayes took decided ground against further coinage of the Bland dollar. As the period of resumption had now arrived the Republicans could not but oppose any and all legislation which threatened its consummation. The remonetization of silver by the further

coinage of a legal tender, whose intrinsic value was less than its face value, would certainly, in their opinion, jeopardize the experiment of resumption of payments in gold, by expansion of a currency which would itself require redemption.

It cannot be said that either party stood squarely to what now seemed to be its conviction respecting silver coinage in the national platforms of 1880. The Republicans generalized by pledging the payment of all national obligations in coin, and the Democrats did the same by favoring "honest money." But President Hayes, in his last message, again announced his views, and those of his party, in favor of the coinage of a silver dollar equal in value to the gold dollar. In so far as the silver question affected the campaign of 1880, the result was a rebuke of the Democratic position, for the Republicans not only elected their President but a majority of Congressmen.

In the Forty-seventh Congress, Tariff legislation was so supreme as to exclude serious consideration of the silver question, and very little was heard of it during the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress, except as President Arthur advised in his message the redemption and recoinage of the trade dollars. But at the second session of the Forty-eighth Congress, which was largely Democratic, the whole country was amazed by the introduction of a bill to suspend the coinage of two million Bland dollars per month. This bill was said to have been introduced at the instigation of Mr. Cleveland, who had just been elected President, and as an aid to his proposed administrative policy. It was defeated by the Democrats themselves. The platforms of both parties in 1884 passed gingerly over the silver question, that of the Republicans simply demanding "an international standard for gold and silver," and that of the Democrats, "a

circulating medium of gold and silver, or money convertible into the same."

In his message to the Forty-ninth Congress, December 7, 1885, the House being Democratic, President Cleveland portrayed in sharp, bold outline the dangers of further coinage of the Bland silver dollar, and urged that such coinage be stopped. He was fairly on the ground occupied by the Republicans prior to the resumption of specie payments. His party paid little heed to his suggestion, but rather got into a muddle which was not straightened out till the second session of the Congress, and then in a way which brought satisfaction to nobody. The free silver coinage law of the session provided for the issue of one, two and five dollar certificates, based on the coin stored in the vaults, and was only a postponement of the silver problem. There was but little discussion of the silver question in the Fiftieth Congress, and its merits hardly affected the national campaign of 1888, the tariff being the absorbing theme. But in the Fifty-first Congress, both houses being Republican, the question came prominently forward and was handled in a spirit which showed a determination to settle it for a long time. A Bill framed in a Committee of Conference, of which Senator Sherman was Chairman, was passed, which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the amount of 4,500,000 ounces per month, or less, at the market price thereof, not exceeding one dollar for 371.25 grains of fine silver, and to issue in payment for the same treasury notes of not less than one nor over one thousand dollars in denomination.

This was the Silver Act of 1890, and became known as the Sherman Act. It was a compromise measure, and at the time was acceptable to the silver-producing States. It did away with the compulsory coinage of 2,000,000 dollars a

month, but provided for the purchase of silver bullion to an amount exceeding the output of the American mines, and for the issue of treasury notes in payment of the same, and as a legal tender, that is, redeemable in coin (gold being demandable). But the bullion was to be purchased only at its market price, and not exceeding one dollar for every 371. 25 grains, and was to stand as a security only at the price paid for it. The Act provided a market for all the silver likely to be produced in the United States, and more, and increased the currency of the country to that extent, an increase which has, under the operation of the Act, exceeded the ratio of increase in population, being to August 1, 1891, $55,191,821.

This Act led to full and free debate, and party lines were drawn upon it almost exactly, a few only on either side deserting to the enemy. It was supported by both the Nevada Senators, Jones and Stewart, and so well satisfied were they with its provisions that they said it not only gave them what they wanted for their locality, but declared in their reasoning upon it that free coinage was impracticable.

Now the Act of 1890 ranks as a distinctive Republican measure. It repealed a Democratic measure, and was therefore offensive. It encouraged bi-metallism to the extent of our own production of silver, but beyond that the monometallic, or gold, principle should prevail.

Throughout the country the Republicans stood by this disposition of the perplexing question, and the Democrats formed in opposition to it. There was no exception to this rule, as we can recall, where the opportunity for formal expression occurred. Taking the State of Ohio as fairly representative of sentiment, the Republicans, in the campaign of 1891, declared that:—

"Thoroughly believing that gold and silver should form

HON. HORACE BOIES.

Born in Erie co., N. Y., December 7, 1827; started, a poor boy, at sixteen, for Racine, Wis.; worked on a farm for a time and returned to New York; admitted to bar of Erie co., 1852; elected to Assembly, as a Republican, 1853; nominated a second time and defeated; moved to Waterloo, Iowa, 1867; practiced profession, and became large land owner; left the Republican party on account of its prohibition doctrines in 1883; advocated Cleveland's election in 1884; favors tariff reform, but not unqualified free coinage; nominated for Governor, on Democratic ticket, in fall of 1889, and elected; a Congregationalist, strictly temperate, and a patron of fine-stock raising.

the basis of all circulating mediums, we endorse the amended Coinage Act of the last Republican Congress, by which the entire production of the silver mines of the United States is added to the currency of the people."

The Democrats of the same State set forth in their platform, that:—

"We denounce the demonetization of silver in 1873 by the party in power as an iniquitous alteration of the money standard in favor of creditors and against debtors, tax payers and producers, and which, by shutting off the sources of primary money, operates continually to increase the value of gold, depress prices, hamper industry, and disparage enterprise, and we demand the reinstatement of the constitutional standard of both gold and silver, with the equal right of each to free and unlimited coinage."

Now coinage of silver under the Bland Act, or more accurately speaking under the Bland-Allison Act, was a coinage in excess of a demand. In fact it was useless, for the dollars wouldn't float. No way could be devised to circulate them, as silver dollars. The device of silver certificates based on them, made a currency equal to their value, but what was the use of keeping the mints running, when the uncoined bullion would answer the same purpose as a security? One way was as good as another for Democrats and Republicans, in so far as the object in view was to provide a market for the silver produced by the silver States.

But was this all that was in view? By no means. The Republicans had reached the end of their string, and they practically avowed that to go further would be to falsify their record as to coinage, retrace all the steps that had led to resumption and retract all their arguments against inflation. The Democrats were freer of foot. They were in a position to profit by antagonism, and to cultivate the sentiment

which was born of discontent. This discontent permeated a wide area, dedicated entirely to them, viz., the South. It had shown itself in other areas, especially of the West, in a form which might easily be cultivated, and possibly captured. There was an uprising, an outbreak, a volcanic something, which was indescribable in its demands, except as to its demand for free and unlimited coinage of silver. In this, there may not have been a fitting in with the more conservative and enlightened Democratic idea, but it opened a Democratic opportunity too tempting to be resisted. All will remember how the Greenback idea ran away with Democratic judgment. This new idea scored a similar triumph. Left to itself, it might have passed as a curiosity of American politics. Coquetted with, and encouraged, it proved a siren, and the future must unfold the dark and intricate recesses into which it led its wooer.

It is needless here to describe in full the injection of this new idea. Yet some description of it is just as to its origin and demands, if not as a reason why Democracy finds an excuse for coquetting with it. We will ignore its Pfeffers, its Polks, its originators and leaders, as they find blazonry and power in its midst, and take the reasons and the position from one who is authorized to speak in the forum of the nation, but who occupies a round on the ladder between the middle and top. We extract from the speech of Hon. William H. Hatch of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, Feb. 25, 1891. He said:

"The farmers of the United States for the past twenty-five years have tolerated and even encouraged a system of national legislation so inimical and detrimental to their best interests that the great wonder is that the 'movement' had not reached its present proportions years ago. The answer

is found in the traditional conservatism of this class, and the strength of personal pride and party ties among all our people. They have waited in vain for relief from the party in power without resorting to the exercise of vigorous and independent action. Long-continued and repeated legislative discriminations, oppressive and increasing rates of taxation, with diminished prices for farm products and shrinkage in values of the best lines of property held by them, at last gave an impetus to the farmers' movement that is unparalleled in its proportions and astounding in the velocity with which it spread over the land, and the unanimity of its acceptance by farmers of all sections of the Union and the growers of all principal farm products.

"It is marvellous that the rice and cotton planters of the extreme South, the tobacco growers of Tennessee and Kentucky, the wheat growers of our entire country, the stock raisers of all sections of the Union, and the painstaking and diversified farming interests of New England should have been so well prepared to receive any practical suggestions of relief that when the 'movement' began in earnest, less than two years ago, it should sweep over the country with the velocity of a cyclone, and arouse the enthusiasm of a civil revolution.

. . . . . .

"The gradual and steady decline of farm products began with the demonetization of silver; I confidently believe that its restoration to a perfect equality with gold as to coinage bullion and certificates, based upon the ratio fixed by our laws, will be greatly beneficial in restoring prices of farm products to an average that will be remunerative, if not profitable, to the producers. Free coinage of silver, with an increase of our paper circulation commensurate with our increased population and constantly augmenting commercial

demands, will bring at once activity in trade, hope and buoyancy in all lines of commerce, and certain relief as well as an increased prosperity to our great productive industries.

"Mr. Chairman, who makes this demand for the free coinage of silver? The National Farmers' Alliance in their convention at Ocala, December, 1890, the last convention held by that organization, declared in favor of the free coinage of silver in these emphatic words:

"'We condemn the silver bill recently passed by Congress, and demand in lieu thereof the free and unlimited coinage of silver.'

"The National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, in their last national meeting, held November 12, 1890, also declared for free and unlimited coinage of silver.

"Every representative body of farmers in the United States have within the past two or three years been equally explicit and emphatic in their indorsement of this policy.

"Many representative bodies in the different States where the Democrats are in a majority, have also expressed themselves, in resolutions, strongly in favor of free coinage of silver.

"The last expression on the part of any representative body of Democrats in the State of Missouri, upon this subject, was a series of resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, in which they declared 'that in order that the volume of money may be increased we favor the free and unlimited coinage of silver.'

"This was on the 19th day of January, 1891.

"Since the resolutions of the Missouri Legislature that I have referred to were offered and printed in the *Record*, and after the publication of Mr. Cleveland's letter on February 13, there was an effort made by resolution offered in the

House of Representatives of the General Assembly, to indorse that letter, which was very promptly voted down, and Mr. Fogle, a prominent Democrat, residing in my district, offered this resolution, which received the vote of every Democrat in the House, as well as some Republicans, the vote being 85 yeas to 8 nays.

"'*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House that we are unqualifiedly in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and that we thereby represent the sentiments of the people of the great State of Missouri.'

. . . . . .

"Gentlemen need not flatter themselves that this organization, because it is young and almost unorganized, is without power. It will close its ranks, leaders will develop as it comes to the front, because they have determined that sooner than yield one jot or tittle of the demands I have mentioned, they will 'give their homes to the flames and their flesh to the eagles.'"

So confident were the Democrats of their position that their greatest leader on Silver matters introduced into the Fifty-second Congress a bill looking to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The object of this bill, introduced and championed by Mr. Bland, was to make the coinage of silver free like that of gold. There was to be no limitation on the amount. The mints were to coin into standard dollars or form into bars all silver deposited, as the owner demanded. The owner was to receive for his silver either standard silver dollars or Treasury notes based on the same. Such Treasury notes were to be a legal tender. This remonetized silver and established bi-metallism. It gave to the holder of silver bullion one standard, legal-tender dollar for every seventy cents worth of silver he held and brought to the mint. It was a captivating measure for silver miners

id silver dealers. Nothing could have been more pleasing to those who thought an enlarged, even if a cheaper, currency a panacea for the ills, debt and hard times. The Act was in keeping with a popular cry. It was believed to be so purely Democratic as that no doubt could exist of its passage in a House where two-thirds of the members were Democrats. But after animated debate, a halt was called. Democracy, after all, was not such a unit as had been supposed. Whatever the real sentiment respecting it may have been, it was not deemed politic to commit the party to it by passing it, at that particular juncture. Enough Democrats swung to the Republican position respecting it to side-track it, for the time being. But it had gone too far to lessen its importance as a political issue. Its friends will not brook the treatment they received. The Republicans will refuse to be hoodwinked by the postponement of a measure for the sake of expediency. Therefore the question of free coinage cannot escape being an issue in the Campaign of 1892, and perhaps more of an issue than if some decisive action had been taken on it in the House, when such action was fully expected.

Any other issue than the two thus reviewed will be in the nature of a side issue. The Republicans will, of course, urge the question of full and fair expression by ballot in all the States. They are bound to do this, but it is not vital to their cause, in the presence of overshadowing issues. Judging from the sentiment evoked by the recent bill in Congress, which came to be known as the "Force Bill," it is doubtful whether the time has arrived for legislative insistence on a method of voting in advance of that which prevails. A full, free and righteous ballot requires a conscience. Where customs and prejudices are rife, law is inefficient. It is always right to educate a sentiment against

a wrong. In so far as the campaign offers opportunity for this, it should be taken advantage of. But in the existing state of public mind, a direct issue on the question of a free ballot and full, honest count, would be a doubtful one for those who assumed the affirmative. Even though moral sentiment be agreed upon the outcrop of such an issue, the factitious reasons for a different result are too numerous to be withstood. Prejudice is yet profound among the lower strata of voters. The race instinct is hard to eliminate. The tradition of state-rights has survived the war to an alarming extent. Upon these can be built an opposition which is susceptible of withstanding any onslaught, as things exist. Indeed, it is possible that Democracy will not hesitate to drive home upon Republicanism the fact that it championed interference with State Rights as to the ballot, and will seek to make more capital out of it than the Republicans can expect to make out of the converse. So equal must such an issue be, as respects votes, and in the coming campaign, that it will not serve to divert either party from those which promise more immediate and substantial results.

As to economy of public expenditure, the Democrats have a case out of which they will make the most. In this, they will throw the Republicans on the defensive. The "Billion Dollar Congress" is an awe-inspiring phrase. It will reach far and require a world of explanation. A "Nickel Congress" or a "Five-Cent Congress" is not nearly so catchy, and, to the "ear of the groundling," is hardly an effective offset. But the changes will be rung on these phrases for all they are worth. We shall hear more of the curse and blessing of extravagance, more of the beauty and hideousness of parsimony than ever before. There will be no more interesting side issue. It is one that even the commonest stump-orator can make something out of. It

does not involve a high degree of logic, and the imagination may readily become the reservoir of facts respecting it.

Opinions of Political Leaders on the Issue of the Campaign.

Senator James McMillan, Mich.:

"There are three questions which are now uppermost in the public mind, and which must continue to enter into every campaign, so long as opinions in regard to them differ widely. These three are the tariff, the finances, and the franchise. The United States has made a virtue of what was at first a political necessity, and by means of a protective tariff has been able to diversify its industries, and to keep the standard of wages comparatively high.

"In the McKinley Law, so called, the theory of protection has been carried to its logical conclusion. Articles which can be manufactured or produced in this country in sufficient quantities to supply our own needs are brought under the shelter of a protective tariff, leaving competition among our own people to regulate prices. Those articles which from climatic or other reasons cannot be produced in this country in sufficient quantities to regulate the price—in value equal to a little more than half the imports—are put upon the free list. The Republican party believes this to be the true theory of the tariff. Still more important than the additional symmetry which the McKinley Bill gives to the protective tariff is the provision establishing reciprocity.

"The question of finances will be a disturbing one. The Republican party will stand by the present law regarding silver.

"In the public mind the day has gone by for a resort to stringent laws which, however just in themselves, must de-

HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

Born in Salem, Ill., March 19, 1860; graduated at Illinois College, 1881; attended Union Law College, Chicago, two years; admitted to bar, and began practice in Jacksonville; moved to Lincoln, Neb., October 1, 1887, and continued profession; elected to Fifty-second Congress, as a Democrat, by a majority of 6713, in a district which two years before gave over 3400 Republican majority; an able constitutional lawyer; rose to immediate prominence in the House by eloquent advocacy of free silver coinage and the principles of tariff reduction and reform; favors election of U. S. Senators by the people, and revenue by means of an income tax; sympathizes with the masses who have been neglected in legislation; popular with his party and in his community.

pend for their enforcement upon a power outside of, and opposed to, the prevailing sentiment in the State in which the colored vote is suppressed. Still, while the existing condition of affairs at the South gives that section representation in Congress and in the Electoral Colleges out of all proportion to its voting strength, the franchise will not cease to be a national issue."

The Hon. Benton McMillin, Tenn.:

"The records of the two parties have, in a great measure, made the issues for 1892. The principles of the Democratic party are as old as the Government. They are the defence of the citizen in his personal liberty; the upholding of the Constitution, and the support of the General Government and the State governments in all their integrity. During the present administration the Republican party has had full control of every branch of the Government. Hence, this party's unrestrained action may be taken as the most recent and most accurate exposition of its principles. They have further made that action their platform by indorsing it in their various State conventions and making their contests upon it. The following will be the issues separating the two parties:

"I. Shall there be reckless prodigality, or wise economy in public expenses?

"II. Shall the peopleremain free, or be enslaved through 'Force Bills,' by turning the elections of the legislative branch of the Government over to the judicial?

"III. Shall the people be robbed, and commerce be destroyed by excessive rates of duty?

"The battle is on, and Democracy will stand, as ever, in favor of the rights of the masses as against the exactions of the classes. Our cause is just, and will triumph."

Senator Frank Hiscock, New York:

"The legislation of the Fifty-first Congress fixing the present custom duties will afford the leading issue. The Republican Convention will approve that legislation, and the Democratic Convention will denounce it; but, in my judgment, the actual contention upon this great economic question will be made by the House of Representatives of the Fifty-second Congress. The Democrats are largely in the majority there. The constituencies of the Democratic members will expect, the Republican party will have a right to demand, and the country will exact of them an expression in the form of a Bill, of the changes which they propose in our present tariff laws. The law-making power must, therefore, make the issues of the next national election upon this subject.

"Doubtless a majority of the House of Representatives of the present Congress would vote to open our mints for the free coinage of the silver of the world. Still I doubt if that question will be emphasized in the next Presidential canvass. New York's electoral vote will doubtless be required for the election of a Democratic President, and the Democrats in the House will hardly wish to handicap their party in New York by passing a free-coinage Bill.

"The Republican party will stand stoutly by the policy and acts of the present administration to promote reciprocal trade with foreign countries under the Aldrich Amendment of the Customs Law of 1890."

The Hon. R. P. Bland, Mo.:

"Undoubtedly the question of tariff reform will be the most absorbing issue in the coming Presidential election. But it will not be the only question. The Republican 'Force Bill' has put in jeopardy home rule and local self-government. The money question, in the shape of the free coinage

of silver, will not down at the bidding of either party. The people will make it an issue.

"The opponents of free coinage profess to deprecate the agitation of the question; yet they craftily demand of both parties a nominee practically pledged in advance to veto any free-coinage Bill that may be passed. If the majority of the American people want free coinage of silver, they ought to have it."

Senator Eugene Hale, Me.:

"The Republican party began furnishing the issues for Presidential elections in 1856, and will furnish them for 1892.

"The doctrine of protection will have a front place in the contest. In 1892 it will be enlarged and popularized by its new ally, reciprocity.

"A sound, stable currency, maintaining gold and silver at par, and utilizing both metals, will be another issue.

"The restriction of criminal and pauper immigration is another issue.

"The encouragement of American steamship lines by judicious subsidies, and the rebuilding of the navy, will constitute another issue.

"If we cannot prevail with these issues, the party may as well go out of business."

The Hon. W. C. P. Breckinridge:

"Assuming that the Democratic party has not already thrown away the Presidency, upon what issue can it win, and has it the wisdom to select, and skill to compel the battle to be made upon it?

"In the approaching canvass the main issue between the parties will be the question of taxation, and the success of the Democratic party may depend upon the earnestness and aggressiveness it shows in the present House on that question. We cannot win upon the do-nothing policy, for if the

country gets the idea that our party in Congress is on dress parade, that its fight on the tariff is simply a sham battle that marks the evolution of an army in time of peace, and that we are firing blank cartridges, the Presidency is lost before the canvass begins. And if the Republicans are skillful enough to take advantage of our division on the money question to force that issue to the front, we may find it impossible to regain the confidence so lost.

"The campaign promises to be one of great earnestness, based mainly on the substitution for the McKinley Bill of a Bill embodying the principles laid down in the celebrated message of Mr. Cleveland, and in the teachings of those who are peculiarly known as tariff reformers."

Governor William R. Merriam, Minn.:

"The Republican party must stand by the two important questions now under consideration, and already assumed as party principles. I refer to the question of free coinage and of the policy of protection. I name them in this order, as I look upon the financial question as the more important issue at stake.

"The Republican party has been uniformly in favor of honest money; and has determined to oppose free coinage of silver, unless the nations of the earth agree upon some basis whereon the two metals can flow side by side. It cannot afford to change its position on this important question. Let it be understood that its policy will be persistently and continuously opposed to the coinage of silver whenever this metal is not at a parity with gold.

"The Governor of New York in his recent speech at Elmira practically means that he proposes to stand upon the platform of free coinage. The Democratic leaders, as a whole, favor placing a free-silver plank in their next platform, and the campaign will no doubt be largely fought out on that line."

HON. MATTHEW C. BUTLER.

Born near Greenville, S. C., March 8, 1836; educated at South Carolina College; admitted to Edgefield bar, 1857; elected to South Carolina Legislature, 1860; served as Major-General in Confederate army and lost right leg in battle; elected to South Carolina Legislature, 1866; candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, 1870; elected United States Senator, 1876; re-elected, 1882 and 1889; chairman of Committee on Five Civilized Tribes of Indians and member of Committees on Foreign Relations, Naval Affairs, Congressional Library and University of United States.

THE DOCTRINE OF FREE-TRADE.

FREE-TRADE exists only in theory. There is no actual free-trade in all the world.

Those who ground their arguments on the abstract doctrine of free-trade are free-traders.

Those who admit the necessity or propriety of a tariff for revenue only are free-traders. All the political economists of the free-trade school—Adam Smith, Mill, Ricardo, Say, List, Laveleye, Wells, Wayland—say that a government has a right to levy a tax for its support, and that the tariff is the least onerous and easiest collected tax.

A tariff for revenue with incidental protection begins to draw the line between the free-trader and the protectionist.

A "Tariff Reformer" is either an outright free-trader, or a believer in a revenue tariff with incidental protection. He may be none the less a protectionist.

Politics confuse these terms. American politics are especially loose respecting them. We change both theories and terms with the rapidity of a new and enterprising country.

In England "free-trade" and "free-trader" carry no reproach. The meaning of the terms is understood, as well as the doctrine.

In political economy there is no doubt about terms. The free-trader and protectionist are what they profess to be.

The early economic writers were mostly free-traders. Protection, which all nations practiced, did not seem to admit of theories or encourage a literature.

It is well to understand that the astounding revelations in connection with the development of the United States have

shaken all the old theories respecting free-trade and protection, and made a new political economy possible, if not necessary.

A primary law of political economy is that an increase of the productiveness of the country implies an increase of its capital. No law can create capital.

A second law is that productiveness depends on the number of laborers. Legislation cannot create men.

A third law is that productiveness depends on the stimulus to labor. Protection changes only the mode of labor. If it attracts manufacturers, it repels agriculturalists, and, *vice versa*. What it pays as a stimulus to one industry it subtracts from another. Hence there is no gain to labor as a whole.

Protection increases the price of an article. As price increases, demand diminishes. The less an article is wanted, the less it will be produced. The demand for labor diminishes. The price of labor diminishes. The stimulus to labor is decreased.

The watchword of free-traders, or freedom of exchange, is *Laissez faire; laissez passer:* "leave it alone." This is nature. Allow every one to buy and sell where he can do so most advantageously, whether in or out of his own country.

Revenue from customs on foreign goods may be permitted by the doctrine of *laissez faire*, but it is a tax, and a bad one.

To establish duties under the pretext of protecting national industries is an iniquitous measure fatal to the general interests.

By forcing a consumer to buy at a higher price than he would have otherwise, or elsewhere, to pay, is to perpetrate the injustice of taxing one class for the benefit of another.

Political economy draws no distinction between classes. So, if it be said that protection by means of tariff duties has for its purpose the favor of labor, it favors a class, none the less.

True industrial economy aims not to increase but diminish labor. If, with what I can earn in one day, I can buy a yard of cloth from a foreigner, why force me to spend two days' labor for the same?

An injury is done to humanity by a system which forces men into manufactories. The custom house snatches men, women and children from open air tasks, and chains them in gloomy workshops for twelve to fourteen hours out of twenty-four.

Free-trade applies to whole peoples the principle of the division of labor, assures them all that such principle can bestow, and thereby enhances their welfare.

When each is employed at what he can do best, the individual shares are greatest.

When each is compelled by legislation to do what he must, and what he may not have aptitude for, the aggregate of labor will not be so great, and the individual will be worse off.

So when each country or nation fails to devote its energies to what nature most favors, it will not bring to market the maximum obtained by the minimum of toil, but the results of a diminished productivity.

No man can be so self-sufficient as to confine himself to the manufacture of his food, clothing, furniture, books, etc. The nation is no better off than the man.

Protection obliges me to grow wheat, without reference to soil. But in nature my soil may be sandy, and I could better afford to raise something else in exchange for wheat, which grows better on my neighbor's clay soil.

Commerce is always an exchange of produce against produce. So much exported, so much imported. Therefore the foreigner cannot inundate us with goods. The different countries cannot sell more than they buy.

Industrial progress begets competition. Don't limit it at the confines of a state or nation. The widest competition is the most universal profit. Monopoly means sloth; protection, routine. The manufacturer who is forced to keep hold of the home market will conquer the world.

A railroad uniting two countries facilitates exchanges; customs dues impede them.

Free-trade has for its object the diminution of labor. Machinery has the same object. Protection, therefore, should demand the abolition of machinery, in order to be consistent.

Capital turns spontaneously to the most lucrative employment. Protection turns it to the less lucrative, and seeks to make up the difference by a tax on consumers.

The argument that a country should be independent of foreigners in time of war is of no avail in this era of easy and ready transportation. Neutral ships may transport the goods of belligerents. The blockade of a nation is impossible.

The doctrine of free-trade, like that of protection, is oftentimes best sustained by attacking and exploding the theories of the adversary.

Modern politics, especially the politics of a free country like that of the United States, are prolific of arguments and phrases which greatly affect the stereotyped theories of free-trade and protection.

Hence, having passed from the ascertained laws of free-trade, as found in the books, and as built on the experience of foreign countries, on monarchical conditions, and on a

HON. WILKINSON CALL.

Born in Logan co., Ky., January 9, 1834; adopted the legal profession, and elected to the United States Senate after the war; seat contested, and election declared invalid; re-elected, as Democrat, in 1879, 1885 and 1891; election in 1891 declared invalid by Governor of State, who appointed Hon. R. H. M. Davidson; contest carried into Senate, where it is now being prosecuted; case interesting as involving election methods and many points beyond established precedents.

geography, climatology and sociology different from our own, there is opportunity for new laws founded on different natural and commercial conditions. This also gives free play to the doctrines respecting protection.

Bearing this in mind, we are prepared for opinions and assertions which have weight in free discussion, but which are somewhat removed from the seriousness and weight of fortified laws.

These are none the less worthy of consideration, for even if there is no economic law back of them, they may foreshadow truths which experience will ripen into economic axiom. As other nations, less expansive than ours, less liberally endowed by nature, and altogether less advanced in industrial and commercial knowledge and opportunity, have formulated economic laws, which are quoted with favor and accepted as final, so this nation may well assume to ascertain what is best for itself, and to give its conclusions the form of economic axiom.

In this point of view the American political economist becomes an impressive and invaluable economist, and the passionate wisdom of the partisan something which is crude quartz to the view, yet with crystals of gold inside.

As instances, the protectionist is challenged for reply by the declaration that the system of protection is sustained by the co-operation of its beneficiaries, and that they are held together by the "cohesive power of public plunder."

Similarly, by the declaration that the tariff is a tax upon the consumer, and that, especially, when imposed on raw materials. Ten cents a pound upon wool means that the consumer will have to pay that much more for the cloth made of that pound.

So, when a tariff is declared to be vicious in principle

that seeks to perpetuate high rates. Hamilton is quoted, in 1791:

"The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established must always be of questionable policy; because a presumption would arise in every such case that there were natural and inherent impediments to success."

Clay is quoted, in 1833:

"The theory of protection supposes, too, that after a certain time the protected arts will have acquired such strength and perfection as will enable them, subsequently, unaided to stand against foreign competition."

The theory that a tariff protects labor by furnishing it employment is the old theory of "the maximum of toil and the minimum of profit," whereas the true economic theory is "the minimum of toil and the maximum of profit."

A tariff favors a class and tends to monopolies and the formation of trusts, with power to regulate prices and burden consumers.

A protective tariff and protective policy is not such a public policy as needs to be supported by the people at large. The principle and fact are denied that protection of an article by levying a duty on it tends to cheapen the price of the article, after its manufacture has been established.

To defend protection is to justify the taking of one man's money and putting it in another's pocket.

The tariff that looks to the protection of labor really injures labor when it leads to the production of articles in this country cheaper than abroad.

Gladstone defends free-trade on moral grounds—the commercial doing as you would wish to be done by.

Patrick Henry said:

"Commerce should be as free as the winds of heaven; a restricted commerce is like a man in chains, crippled in all

his movements and bowed to the earth; but let him twist the fetters from his legs and he stands erect."

Protection has invoked many wars and rebellions. The head-spring of the American Revolution was the Navigation Act, an English system of protection which sacrificed to English monopoly the natural rights of her colonies.

In keeping with the Navigation Act were other English laws suppressing important manufactures as well as internal trade in the colonies. In the land of the beaver no man could be a hatter unless he had served seven years as an apprentice at the trade. No American hat could be sent out of one province into another. Steel furnaces, plating forges and slitting mills were prohibited as nuisances. Lord Chatham said that in a certain contingency he would prohibit the manufacture in the American Colonies of even so much as a horseshoe or a hobnail. Lord Sheffield declared that the only use England had for the American Colonies was "the monopoly of their consumption and the carriage of their produce." These violations of natural law worked their own overthrow, and the mother country lost the brightest jewel in her crown. This event led England to re-examine her commercial system and to adopt the policy of free-trade.

Adam Smith completed his great work, "Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," the very year America declared her independence, 1776.

In 1817, when Parliament repealed the duty on salt, the agents of the salt monopolies plead for a prohibitory duty on it. "Thus fell," says Thomas H. Benton, "an odious, impious and criminal tax."

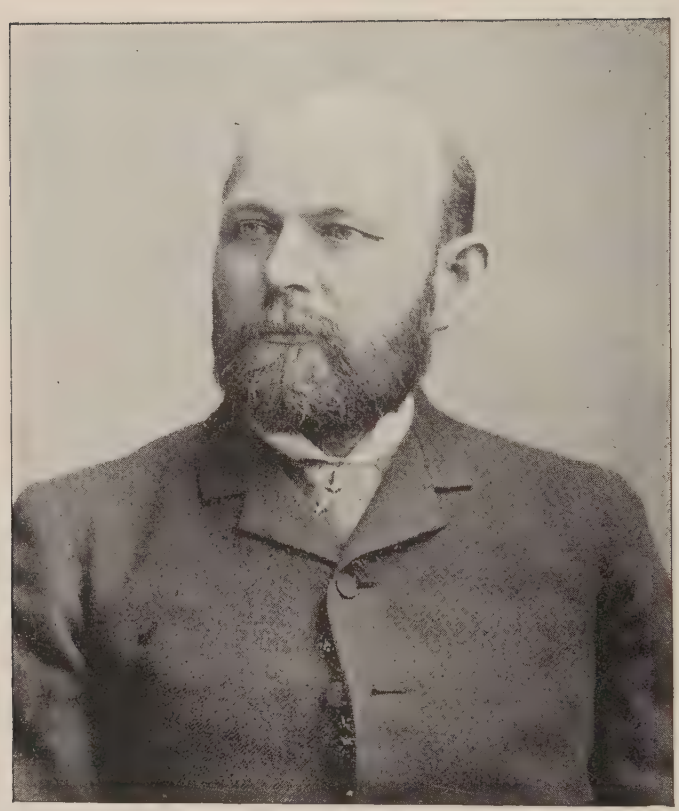
"The leaven of free-trade principles continued to work in England under the wise and skilful supervision of Rich-

ard Cobden, and reached its culminating triumph in the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846."—*Richard Hawley.*

In 1842 England exported goods to the amount of $570,000,000, and in 1865 to the amount of $1,815,000,000. In the same time her imports rose from $326,000,000 to $909,000,000. In 1842 the number of articles subject to duty was 1,150; in 1870 only 43 articles were subject to duty, and the duty was not protective. Yet her revenue from customs was about the same in 1870 as in 1842. She now levies duty only on about a dozen articles, such as tea, coffee, tobacco, spirits, wines, etc.

Hon. David A. Wells makes an argument for free-trade, or free exchange, thus:—"Population in the United States increased from 1860 to 1870, 22.2 per cent. The products of our manufactures increased in the same period 52 per cent. This tendency of manufacturing products to increase faster than population gluts our home markets and shows the necessity for larger and freer commerce."

"There is no nation," says he, "or country, or community, nor probably any one man, that is not, by reason of differences in soil, climate, physical or mental capacities, at advantage or disadvantage as respects some other nation, country, community or men in producing or doing something useful. It is only a brute, furthermore, as economists have long recognized, that can find a full satisfaction for its desires in its immediate surroundings; while poor indeed must be the man of civilization that does not lay every quarter of the globe under contribution every morning for his breakfast. Hence—springing out of this diversity in the powers of production, and of wants in respect to locations and individuals—the origin of trade. Hence its necessity and advantage; and the man who has not sufficient education to read the letters of any printed book perceives by



HON. JOSEPH M. CAREY.

Born in Milton, Delaware, January 19, 1845; educated at Fort Edward Collegiate Institute and Union College; graduated Law Department Pennsylvania University and admitted to bar in Philadelphia; appointed District Attorney for Wyoming, 1869; Associate Justice of Wyoming Supreme Court, 1871–76; Mayor of Cheyenne three times, 1881–85; elected, as a Republican, to 49th, 50th and 51st Congresses; elected U. S. Senator, for Wyoming, November 15, 1890; pioneer of cattle industry in State; active in securing admission of State; an able lawyer, eloquent orator and trusted statesman; Chairman of Senate Committee on Education; member of Committees on Public Lands, Territories, Buildings and Grounds, Patents and Pacific R. R.

HON. LEYMAN R. CASEY.

Born in Livingston co., N. Y., 1837; moved with parents to Ypsilanti, Mich., and prepared for college; engaged for many years in hardware business; travelled in Europe, and in 1882 settled in North Dakota; took charge of affairs of Carrington & Casey Land Company; acted as Commissioner to organize Foster Co.; declined the honors of public office till after admission of North Dakota as a State; elected, as a Republican, to United States Senate, November 21, 1889; Chairman of Committee on Railroads and member of Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Irrigation, Transportation, etc.

instinct, more clearly, as a general rule, than the man of civilization, that if he can trade freely, he can better his condition and increase the sum of his happiness; for the first thing the savage, when brought in contact with civilized man, wants to do, is to exchange; and the first effort of every new settlement in any new country, after providing temporary food and shelter, is to open a road or other means of communication to some other settlement, in order that they may trade or exchange the commodities which they can produce to advantage, for the products which some others can produce to greater advantage. And, obeying this same natural instinct, the heart of every man, that has not been filled with prejudice of race or country, or perverted by talk about the necessity of tariffs and custom-houses, experiences a pleasurable emotion when it learns that a new road has been opened, a new railroad constructed, or that the time of crossing the seas has been greatly shortened; and if to-day it could be announced that the problem of aerial navigation had been solved, and that hereafter everybody could go everywhere, with all their goods and chattels, for one-tenth of the cost and in one-tenth of the time that is now required, one universal shout of jubilation would arise spontaneously from the whole civilized world. And why? Simply because everybody would feel that there would be forthwith a multitude of new wants, an equal multitude of new satisfactions, an increase of business in putting wants and satisfactions into the relations of equations in which one side would balance the other, and an increase of comfort and happiness everywhere."

"All trade," he says, "is at the bottom a matter of barter; product being given for product and service for service; that in order to sell we must buy, and in order to buy we must sell; and that he who won't buy can't sell, and he who won't

sell can't buy. . . . The United States, for now a long series of years, has, in its fiscal policy, denied or ignored the truth of the above economic, axiomatic principles. It has not, indeed, in so many distinct words said to the American producers and laborers, You shall not sell your products and your labor to the people of other countries; but it has emphatically said to the producers and laborers of other countries, We do not think it desirable that you should sell your products or your labor in this country; and, as far as we can interpose legal obstructions, we don't intend that you shall! But in shutting others out, we have at the same time, and necessarily, shut ourselves in. And herein is *trouble No.* 1. The house is too small, measured by the power of producing, for those that live in it. And *remedy No.* 1 is to be found in withdrawing the bolts, taking off the locks, opening the doors, and getting out and clear of all restrictions on producing and the disposal of products."

Mr. Wells illustrates his theory by the failure of the United States to compete with England for the trade of Chili, Argentine and other countries. For though we could place our cotton manufactures in those countries as cheaply as England could, we refused to take their products freely in turn, or except by first imposing a duty on them. The position assumed by Mr. Wells that "all trade is at the bottom a matter of barter," ignores, in part, the function of money in the making of exchanges. He was answered thus by a "Protection" writer:

"The function of money, or its representatives, is that of enabling indirect exchanges to be made. The shoemaker buys his cabbages from one man and sells his shoes to another. Trade, in place of being a right line between two points, becomes, so to speak, triangular and polygonal.

"This applies pre-eminently to nations, which are aggre-

gations of individuals, each of whom acts according to his individual interest, in place of being, as Mr. Wells assumes, units actuated by a common purpose, and asking, before they buy a yard of calico, whether a half-pound of copper regulus will be taken in barter. If a Chilian merchant can buy a salable bale of Fall River cloths cheaper than a similar bale from Manchester, he will not reject it because the Fall River mill cannot buy Chilian copper. He knows that the copper will be sold to Swansea, and that the resulting bill of exchange on London will settle his debt at Fall River as readily as at Manchester. He knows, moreover, that if he patriotically refuses to buy the Fall River goods, his competitor across the street will do so and will undersell him. All this is the A B C of trade, and no pathetic groaning over the 55,000,000 yards of cotton supplied by England, in comparison with the 5,000,000 yards supplied by the United States in 1874, will get rid of it."

Again, Mr. Wells' attention was called to the fact that the removal of restrictions on trade, which restrictions are occasioned by the imposition of duties, did not in fact tend to make countries buy of the United States, even though the United States was their best customer. Thus, in 1876, as an instance, the United States bought of Brazil coffee and India rubber, on which no duties were levied, to the amount of $44,000,000, and sent in turn only $7,500,000 of her own products. This state of affairs Mr. Wells ascribes to the absence of shipping facilities on the part of the United States, which absence he accounts for by reason of the same mistaken fiscal and commercial policy he had been speaking against.

Free-traders deny that protection tends to keep up the price of labor. Germany and France demand high duties in order to protect their ill-paid laborers from competition

with the better paid labor of England. Therefore, low wages do not enable a country to compete with another country. As to this country, such are the advantages of combined capital and labor that the workmen are capable of a larger output than in other countries, and this enables the employer to afford them better wages. The general high rate of wages with us is due to the productiveness of labor, or, in other words, to the energy and efficiency of our laborers, the extended use of machinery and our great natural resources.

Prof. Taussig lays down the doctrine that it is wrong to limit duties to articles which can be produced in this country. Many of such articles, such as wool, iron and silks, are in the nature of raw material and enter into the manufacture of other articles. Tea, coffee and sugar are entered free of duty. A duty on these would have no such effect as a duty on iron, namely, that of turning the industry of the country into unproductive channels. If revenue must be raised by duties on imports, those duties should fall on articles not produced in this country, just as the internal taxes fall on tobacco and spirits.

During the thirty years that the English corn laws were in existence the prosperity of the farmer continually declined. Farm labor suffered in proportion. Artisans and laborers in manufactories were reduced to penury. The peace of the country, and even the existence of the government, were threatened.

Sir Robert Peel, who had changed from Protection to Free-trade and had championed the repeal of the Corn Laws, said on retiring from power: "I shall surrender power severely censured by those who, from no interested motives, adhere to Protection, considering it essential to the welfare and interests of the country. I shall leave a

HON. WILLIAM E. CHANDLER.

Born at Concord, New Hampshire, December 28, 1835; graduated at Harvard Law School and admitted to bar, 1855; reporter of Supreme Court, 1859; member of New Hampshire Legislature, 1862–63–64; Speaker of House, 1863–64; Solicitor and Judge Advocate-General of Navy Department, 1865; First Assistant Secretary of Treasury, June 17, 1865–November 30, 1867; member of the New Hampshire Constitutional Convention, 1876; elected to New Hampshire Legislature, 1881; appointed Solicitor-General by President Garfield, 1881, and rejected by Senate; appointed Secretary of Navy by President Arthur, April 12, 1882, and served till March 7, 1885; elected as Republican to United States Senate, June 14, 1887; re-elected June 18, 1889; Chairman of Committee on Immigration and member of Committees on Inter-State Commerce, Naval Affairs, Privileges and Elections.

name execrated by every monopolist who, from less honorable motives, clamors for Protection, because it conduces to his own individual benefit. But, it may be, that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot is to labor, and to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, when they shall recruit their strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice."

The entire doctrine of Free-trade was confirmed by resolution in the British House of Commons in 1852, and the Protectionists gave up the battle.

In the United States, from 1824 to 1833, the demands of Protectionists threatened the peace of the nation, just as their demands did in England.

At the time of the adoption of the compromise tariff of 1833, President Jackson said in his message of that year: "Those who take an enlarged view of the condition of our country must be satisfied that the policy of Protection must be ultimately limited to those articles of domestic manufacture which are indispensable to our safety in time of war. Within this scope, on a reasonable scale, it is recommended by every consideration of patriotism and duty, which will always, doubtless, secure for it a liberal support; but beyond this object we have already seen the operation of the system productive of discontent. In some sections of the Union its influence is deprecated as tending to concentrate wealth in few hands and as creating those germs of dependence and vice which in other countries have characterized the existence of monopolies and proved so destructive of liberty and the public good. A large proportion of the public in one section of the Union declares it not only inexpedient on these grounds, but as disturbing the equal

relations of capital by legislation and therefore unconstitutional and unjust."

Said Senator Rowan, of Kentucky, in 1828: "It is in vain that Protection is called the 'American System.' Names do not alter things. There is but one American system, and that is delineated in the State and Federal Constitutions. It is the system of equal rights secured by the Constitution—a system which instead of subjecting the labor of some to taxation with a view to enrich others, secures to all the proceeds of their labor, exempt from taxation except for the support of the protecting powers of the government."

As chairman of the "Committee on Manufactures" in 1832, John Quincy Adams said:—"The doctrine that duties of import seem to cheapen the price of the article on which they are levied, seems to conflict with the first dictates of common sense. The duty constitutes a part of the price of the whole mass of the article in the market. It is substantially paid upon the article of domestic manufacture, as well as upon that of foreign production. Upon one it is a bounty, upon the other a burden, and the repeal of the tax must operate as an equivalent reduction of the price of the article whether foreign or domestic . . . . . We say so long as the importation continues, the duty must be paid by the purchaser of the article."

In 1846 George M. Dallas said:—"This exercise of the taxing (tariff) power was originally intended to be temporary. The design was to foster feeble infant manufactures, especially such as were essential for the defence of the country in time of war. In this design the people have persevered until these saplings have taken root, become vigorous, expanded and powerful, and are prepared to enter with confidence the field of fair, free and universal competition."

Protection is responsible for the evils resulting from a violation of law known as smuggling. This practice, or crime, is as baneful and disastrous to the honest tradesmen as the competition of free-trade is healthful and beneficial.

Taking the two decades, 1840 to 1850, and 1850 to 1860, and regarding the first as a period which was most affected by the high tariff of 1842, and the last as most affected by the free-trade tariff of 1846, the contrast is in favor of the last decade. During the non-protective period cotton manufactures increased 130 per cent., woollen manufactures increased 62 per cent., and mostly between 1857 and 1860, when the cheaper grades of wool were admitted free. The year 1860 saw the manufacture of 913,000 tons of pig-iron at good prices, or 100,000 tons more than any previous year. In 1860 the aggregate of our exports showed an increase of 200 per cent. in ten years. The decade between 1850 and 1860 showed an increase of agricultural productions of 100 per cent. over the previous decade. In 1860 our total exports were $400,000,000, or $43,500,000 more than any previous year; and our imports were $362,000,000, a much larger amount than any previous year. We consumed far more sugar, tea and coffee, per capita, during the free-trade tariff decade than the previous one, and also more than between the years of 1860 and 1868, years of protection. Farms increased in value 103 per cent. between 1850 and 1860. Farm products increased from 75 to 100 per cent. The products of all our manufactures was $553,000,000 in 1850; in 1860, it was $1,009,000,000. From 1840 to 1850 the real and personal property in the United States increased 80 per cent.; between 1850 and 1860 it increased 126 per cent. At no time prior to 1850-1860 had the capital of the nation increased so fast, and nothing demonstrates so forcibly the success of free-trade principles in the United

States. In 1850 there were 872 banks; in 1860, 1562; while banking capital increased from $227,500,000 to $422,000,000. Vast sums were expended in railroad building during the decade—21,613 miles being built, as against 904 miles between 1842 and 1846.

Protective duties on wool depress the price of domestic wool and injure wool-growers. The reason is that when the supply of wool-growing countries is shut out of our market, it floods Europe at so low a figure as to enable European manufacturers to make the finer class of goods and sell them to us, duty paid, at a lower figure than we can afford to make them. The price of American wool has not risen with higher tariffs.

By the time Protection pays the penalty of over-production, it makes it too costly as an experiment. James Buchanan said in 1846:—"Our Domestic Manufactures have been saved by the election of James K. Polk from being overwhelmed by the immense capital which would have rushed into them for investment, and from an expansion of the currency which would have nullified any protection short of prohibition."

So Hon. James Lloyd, of Massachusetts, said in the Senate in 1820:—"I am interested in manufactures. I own stock in one of the cotton-mills running in my State. It regularly pays good dividends and is likely to do so continually if the tariff is let alone. But if you pass the bill, hundreds of such factories will be erected, till the market is glutted with their fabrics, when prices must fall and our concern very possibly be broken down."

Of the year 1860, the end of the free-trade era, General James A. Garfield said:—"I suppose it will be admitted on all hands that 1860 was a year of unusual business prosperity in the United States. It was at a time when the bounties of

HON. WILLIAM BOURKE COCHRAN.

Born in Ireland, February 28, 1854; educated there and in France; migrated to America at the age of seventeen; taught in private academy; Principal of Public School in New York; admitted to bar, 1876; elected, as a Democrat, to 50th Congress; a member of Commission to revise Judiciary Article of New York Constitution; elected, as a Democrat, to 52d Congress, for Tenth New York District, and by a majority of over 6000 votes; member of Committee of Ways and Means; a distinguished party leader and organizer.

Providence were scattered with a liberal hand over the face of the Republic; it was at a time when all classes of our community were well and profitably employed; it was a time of peace, the apprehension of our great war had not yet seized the minds of our people; great crops, north and south—great general prosperity—marked the era."

Hon. Caleb B. Smith, President Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior, says in his report:—"Without any special stimulus to growth—depressed indeed, during the years 1857 and 1858, in common with other public interests by the general embarrassments of those years, and with a powerful competition in the amazing growth of manufactures in Great Britain and nearly every other nation in Europe—the manufactories of the United States had nevertheless augmented, diversified and perfected in nearly every branch and uniformly throughout the Union. Domestic materials, whether animal, vegetable or mineral, found ready sales at remunerative prices and were increased in amount with the demand, while commerce and internal trade were invigorated by the distribution of both raw and manufactured products. Invention was stimulated and rewarded. Labor and capital found ample and profitable employment, and new and unexpected fields were opened to each. Agriculture furnished food and materials at moderate cost, and the skill of our artisans cheapened and multiplied all artificial instruments of comfort and happiness for the people. Even the more purely agricultural States of the South were rapidly creating manufactories for the improvement of their great staples and their abundant natural resources. The nation seemed speedily approaching a period of complete independence in respect to the products of skilled labor, and national security and happiness seemed about to be insured by the harmonious development of all the great interests of the people."

DOCTRINE OF PROTECTION.

The doctrine of protection starts without a doubt as to nomenclature. As a principle, it admits of no exception in the first chapters of the history of every commercial nation.

The commercial nation never existed that did not, at first, protect itself. So astute, refined and far-reaching has commerce become, that no nation which refuses to protect itself can ever hope to test its fitness for commercial supremacy, or independence, much less obtain it.

The same is true of industrial and manufacturing independence, both of which imply commercial independence, the moment transit is acknowledged as a subject of protection.

Nature supplemented by art made American transit supreme, or nearly so, when ships were of wood. Art combined with nature made English ships supreme, when ships came to be of iron. But nature is still on our side as to iron. Add the art of England to American nature, and transit will have its old supremacy. Art is protection and protection art.

A protective tariff provides revenue for the government in a better way than any other kind of a tariff. England levies duties for revenue only. They fall on two classes of articles; first, luxuries; second, on articles that cannot be raised or produced profitably at home and cannot come into competition with home productions. It so happens that the latter class of articles embraces tea, coffee and many things which rank as necessities among the common people.

Protection omits duties, when not required for simple

revenue, from tea, sugar, coffee, and articles which rank as necessities, and which cannot be produced profitably at home or cannot come into competition with home productions, and in their stead levies discriminating duties upon articles that come in direct competition with home products.

The rate of such duties is adjusted, in theory, so that the foreign product cannot enter the home market at a price below what it can be produced for at home, with a fair profit included.

Some rates are prohibitory, as when there is desire or determination to found a new industry; but as a rule they are simply discriminative, and in favor of industries which exist, but which would cease to exist unless protected.

Since labor constitutes a large per cent. of manufactured products—in some products as much as ninety per cent. of the cost—the most direct effect of protection is to maintain the price of that labor as it enters into the home product, and preserve it from competition with the cheaper labor that enters into the same product abroad.

The effect of protection on labor is direct and indirect. When the price of labor in protected industries is maintained, that in the unprotected industries is also maintained.

The application of protection to industries in this country reverses the doctrine of political economists that the price of an article is increased to the consumer by just the amount of duty imposed upon it.

Protection may increase the price of an article temporarily, and by some per cent. of the duty levied, but the price declines as the home manufacture of the article enlarges and home competition sets in.

Protection encourages capital and invites it into enter-

prises from which it would shrink, owing to its natural conservatism.

The spirit of invention and the employment of labor-saving machinery and devices are encouraged by protection.

Labor yields most when aided by artificial appliances and cheered by liberal and certain remuneration.

The last three factors render production exceptional in this country. Together with the law of competition, they furnish an output of products better in quality and cheaper in price than those of nations that rely solely on cheap labor for cheap price. The cheapness of protection does not imply degradation of labor, but greater deftness of hand, quickened genius, advantage of natural opportunity.

The tariff is not a tax. While most articles, whose home manufacture has been encouraged by a duty upon them, sell at no higher price than when imported, many such sell for a less price than the duty imposed.

When the foreign producer lands his goods here, and finds them in competition with home-made goods, he pays the duty.

Says a Bradford, England, manufacturer: "The least possible reduction in the American tariff will be a grand thing for Bradford. We are selling our goods for the same prices we did before the higher tariff was enacted, and I know the Bradford manufacturer is paying the duty, not the American consumer."

Another English manufacturer says: "If the duties came out of the American consumer the English manufacturer would not care a button about the American tariff laws."

Friedrich List, founder of the German *Zollverein*, or Custom's Union, Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, all subscribe to the doctrine that a country which is exclusively agricultural is necessarily backward. They instance Poland.

HON. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.

Born at Niles, Ohio, February 26, 1844; enlisted in the 23d Ohio Vols., May, 1861; mustered out as Brevet-Major, September, 1865; studied law and served as Prosecuting Attorney for Stark co.; elected to 45th, 46th, 47th and 48th Congresses; unseated in 48th Congress by Democratic opponent; re-elected to 49th, 50th and 51st Congresses; defeated as candidate for 52d Congress, owing to gerrymander of his District; rose to renown as exponent of Protection; Chairman of Ways and Means Committee in 51st Congress, and the Tariff Act of 1890 became known as the McKinley Act; elected Governor of Ohio, November, 1891, by 21,511 majority, the leading issues being Protection and Silver Coinage.

"Since, then, although it is undoubtedly bad for privileges to give rise to artificial industries, many industries well suited to the nature of a country will never develop there unless at first protected. The best road to arrive at free-trade and obtain from it the maximum advantage lies through a temporary adoption of protection."

Protection in this country at first vindicated itself by the example of all civilized nations. Then, by universal acquiescence in the principle that duties on imports were more cheerfully paid than any species of tax for revenue. Now it vindicates itself by what it has achieved for the country in the domain of capital and labor. It claims to have won by honest effort and practical results the title, "American System."

"The safety and interest of the people require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly for military, supplies."—*George Washington.*

"That it may be expedient to guard the infancy of this improvement ('useful manufactures') by legislation of the commercial tariff, cannot fail to suggest itself to your patriotic reflections." Again, "In adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration. However wise the theory may be which leaves to the sagacity and interest of individuals the application of their industry and resources, there are in this, as in all cases, exceptions to the rule."—*James Madison.*

As to the highest duties of the government, Thomas Jefferson, in his second annual message, said: It is "to cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises; to foster our fisheries as nurseries

of navigation for the nurture of man; and to protect the manufactures suited to our circumstances."

"The restrictive legislation of 1808–15 was, for the time being, equivalent to extreme protection. The consequent rise of a considerable class of manufactures, whose success depended largely on the continuance of protection, formed the basis of a strong movement for more decided limitation of foreign competition."—*Prof. Taussig.*

Adam Smith, the father of free-trade, admits that could any number of communities, producing what each other wants, be brought into commercial contact, there would have been no need of his evolving the doctrine of free-trade. In this country there are forty-four, and more, of such communities.

What was a theory with Hamilton, that protection tended to lower the price of protected articles, became a fact under the operation of our tariff legislation.

The genius of a nation is at its best when not subjected to conditions foreign to it. To let institutions have sway here which are born abroad, and which may be best for abroad, would be for us to subject ourselves to monarchy. It would be just the same if we lost our commercial or industrial Americanism and became subject to the codes which demean labor by caste and enslave it by hereditary custom.

The protection which monarchical countries, without exception, patronized and by which they exist was never in the interest of labor as now in this country.

The conditions which exist in America are wholly different from those which gave color to free-trade as a doctrine with European economists. Had they been situated as we are, and known what we know, they would have collated and deduced differently. In one hundred years

America has established a set of statistical facts which utterly destroy the deductions based on facts of an older regime and on conditions never dreamed of. Protection in the United States is really a new political economy, of far more worth to us than the economic visions of one hundred years ago, indulged by men who knew no distinction between labor and serfdom and who saw no hope for enterprise outside of capital linked with landed aristocracy and lordly title.

Protection has long since triumphed over the argument that it was unconstitutional. This argument is not urged to-day except by the very ignorant or very prejudiced. But the argument reappears in the charge that protection fosters monopoly. This was Calhoun's standing argument. He saw that it enured more to the benefit of free paid labor than of slave unpaid labor, and that it encouraged the manufacturing as against the planting classes. The industries which involved invention, skill, competition, live capital and paid labor were the ones which protection favored. Those which involved none of these received no benefit from protection and did not need it. His views of monopoly turned on this point. Since the downfall of slavery the heart has been taken out of the monopoly argument, for it has become plain to all that what improves the condition of the entire people does not savor of monopoly.

Protection protects against monopoly. Before the tariff of 1824 American cottons sold at 24 cents a yard. After that tariff, they sold at 7¾ cents a yard. New mills, improved machinery and increased competition, put a better material in the market at a third of the price.

The monopoly may be foreign. England sold us steel rails, for railroads, at $150 per ton. She continued to do this till 1870, when a duty of $28 a ton was levied. Under

this protection we began to build mills for their manufacture. The price of steel rails began to decline. They are now sold at a profit at from $33 to $40 a ton. English monopoly was costing us five prices for a ton of rails.

Protection gives us competing power abroad. Our cotton textiles are recognized as the best in the markets of the world. The same is true of our edge-tools and agricultural implements. European manufacturers imitate these American goods and use American labels in order to hold the markets of South America and the Orient. When this competing power is amplified by reciprocity and by direct steam communication, both of which are protective, no nation can rival us in South American and Chinese markets.

A tariff for revenue is a tax. A tariff on tea, coffee and sugar, raises the price to the consumer, because it offers no inducement, and cannot, by reason of soil and climate, for their home production. Sugar is partly an exception, as we can raise some sugar-cane. It may become wholly an exception if the experiment with beets prove a success. As to trading in manufactured articles, articles of art and handicraft, the application of the doctrine of natural right as claimed by free-traders, is suicidal to the younger or weaker nation. No nation recognizes it except in theory. Nations are not natural, one to the other, as to trade, except in the respect that they are selfish. They all claim the natural right to exist, to grow, to develop, to be independent. The natural right to be what nature intends is higher than any other. Nature never intended that one nation with numerous, large, long and swift streams, equal to billions of horse-power, should buy for all time the manufactures of nations with fewer, smaller, shorter and duller streams, equal to only millions of horse-power, even though the latter nations had,

by reason of age, so far turned their power to account as to be able to furnish products cheaper than the former.

Nature never intended that one nation with a riches of coal and ores far exceeding that of another, should perpetually buy the manufactures of that other, because it had delved in its mines for ages, and could offer products cheaper than the first.

Nature never intended that a new nation with infinite resources of climate, soil, mine, genius and industry should subordinate its traffic to nations of inferior resources, but with the temporary advantage of age.

Nature never intended that nations that had grown old, ripe and rich by means of a protection, which was absolute in comparison with any that prevails to-day, should claim naturalness for a trade established by agencies they deny to others.

Nature never intended that conditions of labor under which a laborer can be an earner, saver, head of a family, house owner, voter and public-spirited citizen, should be subjugated to conditions of labor which give caste to occupation, demean calling, yield bare subsistence, crush manhood, stifle ambition, beget slavish routine, reduce to tread-mill task.

Nature never intended that the genius and capital of one nation with opportunity should forever obey the commands of another, with less opportunity, but whose opportunity had the advantage of age.

But nature did intend that each nation should profit by its gifts. If young and undeveloped, it should employ the arts of development that are commensurate with its gifts. If weak, it should cultivate strength. If dependent, it should learn independence. The art of doing this is its own affair. The art should be rational, based on what it knows of itself—its people, geography, topography, climate, soil, ores, streams,

woods, facilities and resources in general. If, in obedience to books and theories, it is wrong in doing this, no other nation is so white as to call it black. The consensus of nations in this respect is nature. The precise form of protection and development is immaterial. English free-trade is the highest, severest, most arbitrary form of protection of which she is capable. It is no more condemnatory of the American idea than was her duty of $250 on every $500 worth of iron, not otherwise enumerated, she imported from her colonies. It is no more acceptable to the American idea than was her stamped paper and tea-tax which brought on the Revolution.

The highest duty of a nation is to cultivate nature, for nature means its people, institutions and resources. In this respect America means far more than professors dream of, far more than books teach, far more than little, narrow men with sectional or foreign predilections prate of, far more than England, all Europe, or all the world can in their selfishness impress us with. As a nation we have escaped the thraldom of monarchies, the shackles of caste, the hindrances of mediæval institutions, the limitations of soil, climate and natural resource incident to a continent which last emerged from polar ice. As to people we are composite. Where and when the mentality and physique of civilization blend for the production of a type, that type will be what nature calls for, the survival of size, shape and qualities, fitted for, or rather shaped by, an environment such as has not hitherto existed. As to institution, we have inverted the pyramid of monarchy whose tip is on the throne and base in the air. Here the base is below, on the people, and the tip is in the air, a sublimation of popular will and not a matter of family or blood. As to areas and climate we blend orient and occident, tropic and arctic. It is Italy and Russia, London

and Constantinople. As to soil, mineral, wood and stream, the resource is varied and infinite. The alluvium between the Alleghenies and Rockies has no counterpart in the world. Not Ural, Alp or Apennine are richer in ores than our home ranges. No forests of Europe or Asia compare with our pine fastnesses. No streams run larger, fresher, swifter, more constant and frequent. It is the place for new men, genius, institution, development. The law, doctrine or custom, ripened by wholly different conditions, and sanctioned by antiquity, is not for us. We are a nation—an escape from antique environment. To be true we must be original. This is especially so as to economics.

The facts upon which Smith and Mill built free-trade theories are useless in America. Home facts, embracing periods of test, are the only true bases for home deductions. It is our right and duty to build on them and to evolve for ourselves the political economy which they warrant, regardless of the conclusions reached and the laws adopted by other nations. These facts and this use of them have evolved the common law of protection in this country, have confirmed a principle, have established a system—the system of American Protection.

When free-trade makes the claim that home competition cannot cheapen certain classes of home manufactures, protection answers that in such cases cheapness equal to that of a foreign product is undesirable; that there ought to be sufficient patriotic pride among us to pay more for such articles when home-made than when foreign-made, their quality and utility being the same; that we will be more than repaid for the difference in price by the encouragement extended to a home industry and by the establishment of a home market; that every cent spent at home is a contribution to the comfort of surroundings, the happiness of

neighbors, the erection of homes, the welfare of labor, the founding of a home market for the wool, wheat, corn, butter, cheese, eggs and vegetables of the farmers, for which there otherwise could be no possible demand; or if so, the demand would be of so foreign a nature as to eat up profit by the cost of transportation, by commissions, and by perishability.

All free-traders make much of the argument that protection tends to over-production and consequently to periods of depression and panic. The protectionists answer, first, that this is a confession that protection does stimulate production. Secondly, they deny *in toto* that protection tends any more to over-production and to periods of depression and panic, than free-trade. England is as much subject to periodic visitations of glut and depression as any protected country. The glut and depression in the iron trade of 1884 extended to every iron-producing country, and England suffered most of all.

In this connection protection points confidently to its history in this country, and relies upon the unshakable argument it furnishes.

The absolutely free-trade era between 1783 and 1789 was characterized by a glut of foreign products, suspension of industries, bankruptcy of manufacturers and merchants, ruinous depreciation of prices, beggary of artisans and laborers, starvation of farmers. Says a writer of the period: "We are poor with a profusion of material wealth in our possession. That we are poor needs no other proof than our prisons, bankruptcies, judgments, executions, auctions, mortgages, etc., and the shameless quantity of business in our courts of law."

This condition passed away with the enactment of the tariff Act of 1789. It was a modest provision, but sufficient to enunciate the principle of protection for new industries,

HON. SHELBY M. CULLOM.

Born in Wayne co., Ky., November 22, 1829; next year parents moved to Tazewell co., Ill.; educated at academy and university; admitted to bar in Springfield and practiced there; elected to State Legislature, 1856, 1860, 1872, 1874; was Speaker in 1861 and 1873; elected a Representative to 39th, 40th and 41st Congresses; elected Governor of Illinois in 1876, and re-elected in 1880; resigned, February 5, 1883, to accept seat in United States Senate, as a Republican, and successor to Hon. David Davis; term expires March 3, 1895; an active worker and broad-minded statesman; father of the Inter-State Commerce law.

and to change the industrial and commercial situation. By 1808 the country had recovered from the evil effects of the free trade era. Then set in the restrictive measures preliminary to the war of 1812, as the Embargo Act of 1807 and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809. Duties were doubled by the Act of 1812 with a view to secure revenue. These restrictive measures, followed by actual hostilities, proved to be an absolutely prohibitive tariff. Immediately every branch of domestic industry felt the stimulus. Establishments for the manufacture of cottons, woolens, iron, glass, pottery, etc., sprang up like magic. This instant and marvellous result was due to extreme protection, and it really formed the basis for that strong, persistent and intelligent movement which had for its view legislative limitation on foreign competition, and logical protection, as found in Henry Clay's American System.

This view found expression in the tariff act of 1816, which increased duties considerably, but most unfortunately for only a limited period. The 25 per cent. on cottons and woolens was to fall to 20 per cent. by 1819. What was barely protective became non-protective in three years. Limitation was to undo the affirmative work of the act. Though all that grew out of the ground remained high in price for a time, owing to shortages in Europe, manufactured goods declined. The long pent-up stream of English merchandise flooded the country after the close of the Napoleonic wars, and our manufacturers were forced to the wall. Panic set in, and with it depression, bankruptcy and all the evils of foreign inundation. The products of the soil found the level of devastation, and soon every interest was engulfed in the sad wave of commercial blight.

The lesson of this crisis was not lost to our statesmen and economists. That strong protective movement set in

which was to concern so intimately the next generation. England had grown restrictive, as evidenced by the passage of her corn laws. Cotton and all our farm products were ruinously cheap. The time was most favorable for the protection and growth of home manufactures and for the establishment of home markets. Home markets had not until this date been a leading argument for protection, but from this time on the argument grew in strength. The relief tariff of 1818 merely did away with the limitations of the Act of 1816, and extended the duties of the latter act till 1826.

After 1819, that is, in 1820, the protectionists made a vigorous effort to enact a really protective act. They failed by a single vote in the Senate. They succeeded in 1824, with a modifiedly protective act, which became more confirmedly protective in the act of 1828. This protective trend was most advantageous. Recovery from the effect of the panic of 1819 was perfect. Manufactures again sprang up. Labor got employment and reward. The farmer rejoiced at his plow. Prosperity and satisfaction reigned. The seven years after 1824 are counted as the most prosperous they had ever known.

Free-trade now came to mean the perpetuation of slavery, the nullification of law, secession. It threw itself on the very legislation it had encouraged, and with such ferocity as to compel the compromise tariff of 1833, in which the principle of protection was abandoned. Then the history of 1819 began to repeat itself. Depression set in. Values fell. Manufactures ceased. Merchants went into bankruptcy. Farmers became impoverished. Labor begged for bread. The horrors of 1819 were more than repeated in the final crash of 1837, when cows sold for $1.00 a head and hogs for 25 cents. The panic of 1837 cost the country

$1,000,000,000. To add to the terrible situation, the sliding scale of reduction of tariff rates brought duties so low by 1837 that the Government ran short of revenue, and the national credit fell so low that money could not be borrowed for necessary expenses except at enormous discount.

The reaction caused by this disastrous epoch swept the free-traders from power and the protectionists enacted the protective tariff of 1842, over the veto of President Tyler. Financial skies began to clear. The sun of prosperity broke forth. Spindles began to hum and labor to smile. The farmer held his plow with confidence. Customs' revenues leaped to seventy per cent. more than during the last year of the compromise Act of 1833. Prices rose, and every industry was inspired with new life.

But in 1844 free-trade, more wedded than ever to unpaid labor, and shivering at the importance of paid labor and protected industry, rallied under the banner of "Polk, Dallas and the Tariff of '42." How much it believed in the "Tariff of '42" was shown by the enactment of the Tariff of 1846, by the casting vote of Dallas in the Senate. This was a free-trade tariff, and its results were foreshadowed by its opponents. Happily there arose a series of circumstances which operated very much like the restrictive measures that followed the Act of 1808. They were all protective and sufficiently so to postpone the evil effects of the Act of 1846 for a time. They were the Mexican war, the discovery of gold in California, the Irish famine, and wars in Europe. But even by 1852 the decrease in the value of our exports of bread-stuffs and provisions had fallen off $47,000,000, and the supposed incentive of a low tariff and increased importations from abroad was not being realized.

Another reduction of duties took place in 1857. Financial revolution set in, appalling in its widespread severity

and distress. The crisis of 1857 not only impoverished the people, but the public revenues became so small that the Government was compelled to borrow money at from 8 to 12 per cent. discount in order to provide running expenses. Said President Buchanan in his annual message: "With unsurpassed plenty in all the elements of national wealth, our manufactures have suspended; our public works are retarded; our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want."

Since the passage of the Morrill Tariff Act of 1861, the doctrine of protection has found constant application. The Act of 1883 effected the largest change in that of 1861, by reducing duties and enlarging the free list, but it was crude in many of its provisions. The Act of 1890, known as the McKinley Act, still further enlarged the free list, addressed the principle of protection more directly to American labor, and introduced the policy of reciprocity. Protectionists claim for this period, 1861 to the present, the establishment and enjoyment of an industrial system which has assumed a larger national growth, a more rapid accumulation and broader distribution of wealth than ever before known in the history of our country. During that period there has been but one panic, that of 1873, and that differed from those of 1819, 1837, and 1857, in not being confined to this country, but in having an origin in general disturbance of credit abroad, the effect of which was to throw back upon us suddenly an inordinate number of our bonds. This caused sudden drain and great hardship for a time. The condition was almost repeated in 1890, when the failure of the Baring Brothers, and general disturbance in European credit, shook our commercial centres and tested our ability to withstand panic. In 1873 our mills did not stop running as in other

HON. JOHN DALZELL.

Born in New York city, April 19, 1845; moved to Pittsburgh, Pa., 1847; graduated from Yale, 1865; admitted to bar, 1867; rose into professional prominence as attorney for Pennsylvania R. R. and leased branches; also as solicitor for corporations and firms in Allegheny co.; elected to 50th, 51st and 52d Congresses as a Republican, by large majorities; distinguished for industry and eloquence; ardent defender of Protection, and opposed to Free Silver Coinage; name discussed throughout the State in connection with the U. S. Senatorship.

panics. Banks did not break by wholesale. Internal commerce was not interrupted. Every recuperative agency had play. We sold more than we bought, and reduced our national debt. Protectionists aver that the panic of 1873 was a blessing in disguise.

The eminent protectionist, Henry C. Carey, thus concludes his historic argument:—

"We have had Protection in 1789, 1812, 1824, 1828, 1842, and from 1861 to date.

We have had Free-Trade, or very low tariff, in 1783, 1816, 1832, 1846, 1857.

Now note the unvarying results:

Under protection we have had:	*Under Free-Trade we have had:*
1. Great demand for labor.	1. Labor everywhere seeking employment.
2. Wages high and money cheap.	2. Wages low and money high.
3. Public and private revenues large.	3. Public and private revenues small and steadily decreasing.
4. Immigration great and steadily increasing.	4. Immigration declining.
5. Public and private *prosperity* great beyond all previous precedent.	5. Public and private *bankruptcy* nearly universal.
6. Growing national independence.	6. Growing national dependence.

The argument that protection injures the farmer has always been a favorite one with free-traders. It has steadily grown in favor, and has been given a decided turn in the Fifty-second Congress by the attempt to remove the duty from wool, binding twine and tin plate. The argument of the protectionist is that manufactured articles, and especially those which concern the farmer, are on an average 25 per cent. cheaper to-day than in 1860, when 80 per cent. of them were made abroad. That now 80 per cent. of them are made at home. That the farmer has been saved the cost of ocean transportation on this 80 per cent., and has had the benefit of the home market their manufacture has created for his

produce. That such market is certain, at his door, and already takes 80 per cent. of his wheat and 92 per cent. of his corn. That it keeps even pace with the growth of manufactures and will ere long take all his surplus, at a better rate than he can get for it abroad and in competition with the cheap wheat of India and Australia.

In addition to the above argument, protectionists show that our free list now embraces nearly half of our importations; that said list comprises all the articles which affect the comfort of the farmer or poor man, such as sugar, fruit, rice, breeding animals, tea, coffee, etc.; and that the dutiable list embraces high priced articles and articles of luxury, such as wines, liquors, cigars, silks, satins, glassware, diamonds, linens, cottons, etc., the duties on which are paid mostly by the wealthy.

The free-trader argues that "free raw material used in the manufactures" is especially worthy of a place on the free list. Among these he classes wool, flax, hemp, seeds, iron ore, pig iron, coal, marble, etc. The protectionist claims that the free-list, as enlarged under the Act of 1890, embraces a sufficient number of these articles; that those, like wool, which pay duty, come into competition with the products of our farmers and laborers in shops, mines and furnaces; that labor is a prime object of protection; that all the articles, technically classed as "raw material," are not such to the farmer, laborer, miner and furnace man, because they represent the labor, skill and even capital of the latter, as much as cloth represents the skill and capital of the manufacturer, or the coat those of the tailor.

Protection repudiates the doctrine that it is a device for the benefit of the privileged classes. It rests on the principle that it operates for the general development of the resources and the encouragement of the industries of the country. If

classes or capital are emboldened by it to undertake new ventures or to enter channels they would not otherwise do, that is a matter which does not affect the prime object of protection and cannot be controlled by legislation. It was not England's tariff system, but her free-trade system, which tended most to sustain her landed aristocracy. Out of the ten richest men in the United States, nine have accumulated fortunes in speculative and commercial pursuits, other than manufacturing, and one in manufactures that had to deal with protected articles.

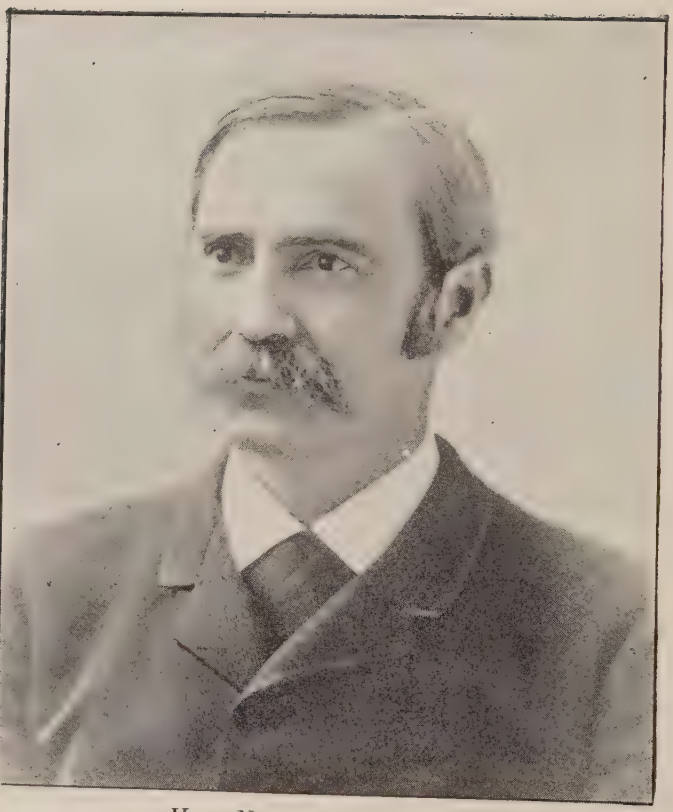
So as to trusts. Protectionists say the facts do not support the theory that protection leads to trusts. The worst trust-ridden countries are free-trade countries. Trusts in America are quite frequently the result of English genius and capital. The Standard oil, Chicago gas, Street railway, Electric lighting, Cotton seed oil, Sugar deal, Reading deal, Richmond terminal, and others, which rank as trusts or combinations, exist in spite of the doctrine of protection and in no way concern it. It is by no means certain that these combinations are harmful to the public at large. For every one that finds an existence by reason of dealing in protected articles, ten can be found that would exist, tariff or no tariff.

Protection has made the manufacturer content with a reasonable profit. An annual profit of ten per cent. is barely possible in this country in the best-established manufactories. Said Mr. Bright in the English Parliament, in 1842: "America, as an independent country, has been a more valuable customer to England than she could possibly have been as a colony. On all the goods exported to America during the last quarter of a century you have made a net profit of forty per cent." Prices of home manufactures can therefore be trusted to home competition, but

foreign prices cannot be trusted at all, unless they are forced to meet our home competition. This was particularly glaring when England was charging $150 for a ton of steel rails which afterwards, and in the face of our home competition, she was glad to get $40 for. The removal of duty from tea and coffee in 1872 caused a rise in their price. There was a reason for the rise in coffee, because Brazil immediately levied an export tax on it. But neither tea nor coffee have been so cheap since 1872 as before, when tea paid fifteen cents and coffee two cents a pound duty. They avoid home competition entirely.

The protectionist supports his doctrine by calling in as a witness the material growth of the country since 1861, and comparing it with that of countries wedded to free-trade. He confidently asks judgment on the practical workings of his policy, and claims for the results a fulfillment of the prophecies of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Benton, Clay, Webster and even Calhoun, who in 1816 made his famous appeal in favor of the protection and importance of manufactures to the "national strength and perfection of our institutions," and in "binding more closely our widespread republic."

During thirty years of protection, and notwithstanding the wastage of four years of war, our population has grown at the rate of one million annually—a greater rate than that of England, France, Germany and Austria combined. Our wealth has grown from $17,000,000,000 to nearly $50,000,000,000, or at the rate of $1,000,000,000 a year. There has gone into our savings $885,000,000 yearly, or almost half as much as the savings of the entire world. The manufactories, mines and forests of Great Britain produced $4,500,000,000 in 1886, an increase of 30 per cent. since 1850. The same products in the United States in 1880 were valued



HON. NELSON W. ALDRICH.

Born at Foster, R. I., November 6, 1841. Academically educated; engaged in mercantile pursuits; President of Providence Common Council, 1871–73; member of State Assembly, 1875–76; Speaker of House of Representatives in 1876; elected to Congress for 46th and 47th Congresses; elected, as Republican, to United States Senate, 1880; re-elected, 1886; rose to prominence as advocate of Protection; authority in party and Senate on matters pertaining to Tariff Legislation; conspicuous in preparation and adoption of Tariff act of 1890; Chairman of Committee on Rules and member of Committees on Finance and Transportation.

at $5,500,000,000, an increase of 160 per cent. since 1860. Since 1860 our farms have more than doubled in number and increased in value from $6,000,000,000 to $10,000,000,000, while their products, which were $1,800,000,000 in 1860, were $3,800,000,000 in 1880.

In 1880 the entire products of Great Britain—farms, factories, mines, forests and all—were $6,200,000,000, or $172 per capita. Of this product she exported $1,300,000,000. In the same year the total products of the United States were $10,000,000,000, or $200 per capita. Of this product $9,176,000,000 were consumed at home. Thus our home market consumed more than Great Britain consumed and exported, and more than double the combined exports of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Holland and Austria. Besides this consumption of home products, we imported $700,000,000 as against $335,000,000 in 1860, and exported $750,000,000 as against $373,000,000 in 1860.

Protectionists do not claim that the system of protection is, or ever has been, perfect. It is not possible to make it so. But it has proved in practice that the arguments of its opponents are unsound. It has established itself as an essential part of our commercial and business habit and thought, and is open to the same equities, and laws of progress and adjustment, as any essential feature of industrial welfare. Its destruction, however, cannot be tolerated. Attack on it must be resented. It is not a system which can be trusted to its enemies for safe-keeping, or modification. Its friends are its natural custodians, and they alone are capable of perpetuating it in the forms best calculated to make it repeat its past triumphs for labor, capital and the general welfare, and to fit it for the legitimate requirements of a still more growthy and imposing future.

OUR TARIFF LEGISLATION.—AN HISTORIC REVIEW.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

THE English colonial system in America began, in 1616, with the Virginia charter.

It extended until the colonies numbered thirteen, embracing the Atlantic front from Georgia to Maine, and extending inland indefinitely.

Whatever the ambition or object of the colonists, they did not cut the apron string of allegiance to Great Britain, but agreed to obey the decrees of her kings, the edicts of her parliaments and the behests of her institutions.

This may seem strange, since every colony was a protest against home hardship and an escape from tyrannical interference with individual rights.

But questions of title to land, incipient government, protection against foes, and various others, proved paramount and decided the terms of colonization.

As to the mother country, those terms implied political allegiance and commercial contribution.

Legitimate trade dates from the reign of Elizabeth. Holland, England and France vied with each other in that paternalism which went out to the industries and to commerce in the shape of protective legislation.

From the reign of Elizabeth to 1846, there are four hundred Acts of Parliament—tonnage laws, poundage laws, protective tariff and commercial regulations—relating to manufactures and trade.

Some of these prohibited imports. Some prohibited ex-

ports, lest inferior nations should acquire the skill of the mother country. There is no historic record of a protective system so extreme in its conditions and so arbitrarily applied as that of Great Britain, if we exclude the despotic system of China.

Says McCullough in his *Commercial Dictionary*:—"It was a leading principle in the colonial policy, adopted as well by England as by other European nations, to discourage all attempts to manufacture such articles in the colonies as could be provided for them in the mother country."

Says Bancroft in his "History of the United States":—"England in its relation with other states sought a convenient tariff. In the colonies it prohibited industry."

In 1699 the British Parliament enacted that no wool, yarn, cloth, or woollen manufactures of the English Plantations in America should be shipped from any of said Plantations, or otherwise laden, in order to be transported thence to any place whatsoever, under a penalty of forfeiting both ship and cargo, and a fine of $2500 for each offence.

In 1732 Parliament prohibited the exportation of hats from province to province (colony to colony) in America, and limited the number of apprentices to be taken by hatters.

In 1750 the Parliament prohibited as a common nuisance the erection of any mill in America for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or furnace for making steel. The penalty for such crime was $1000.

A little later an Act was passed prohibiting the making of nails in the province of Pennsylvania.

About the same time Lord Chatham announced it as his opinion of colonial dependence that the American colonies ought not to be permitted to make even a hob-nail or horse-

shoe for themselves, and these views were incorporated into the Act of 1765 which absolutely prohibited the migration of artisans to the American colonies.

In 1781 the Parliament enacted that no woollen machinery should be exported to the American colonies.

In 1782 Parliament enacted that no cotton machinery should be exported to the colonies, and that no artificers in cotton should migrate thither. In the same year the duty on bar-iron was fixed at $12 per ton. This rate lasted till 1795.

In 1785 Parliament prohibited the exportation of iron and steel making machinery to the colonies, and the migration of workmen, skilled in those branches of trade, thither.

In 1797 Parliament levied a duty, then deemed prohibitive, of $14 per ton on all foreign bar-iron imported into Great Britain. In 1798 this was increased to $15 per ton; in 1806 to $23 per ton; in 1810 to $24 per ton; in 1818 to $28 per ton; in 1825 to $33 per ton, if imported in British ships, and to $38, and over, per ton, if imported in foreign ships. During the same period, other manufactures of iron paid $90 per ton, and iron not otherwise enumerated $250 for every $500 worth imported. All of these rates were designed to be absolutely prohibitive, in accordance with the existing policy of the realm, which policy was that of France and Holland, both countries with colonial possessions, and both striving for commercial and manufacturing independence.

In 1799 the English Parliament prohibited the migration of colliers, lest other countries should acquire the art of mining coal.

Says Adam Smith, the father of English political economy, "Even up to 1776 England prohibited the exportation from one province (American) to another by water, and even the

HON. JAMES E. CAMPBELL.

Born July 7, 1843; elected to Congress from Hamilton, Ohio, district, as a Democrat, in 1883–85–87; the last election was a test of his great popularity, as the district had been apportioned so as to contain 1500 opposing majority; chosen as the standard bearer of his party for Governor in 1888 against Foraker, and defeated him by a handsome majority; after a successful administration became candidate for Governor against McKinley in 1891; a vigorous campaign ensued, in which the candidates united in joint discussion of party issues; he suffered defeat, but lost none of his strength and popularity; prominently mentioned as a presidential candidate.

HON. ISAAC P. GRAY.

Born in Chester co., Pa., October 28, 1828; moved to Ohio, 1836; in mercantile pursuits at New Madison, Ohio, 1836–55; moved to Union City, Ind., 1855; in merchandise, 1855–58; studied law and admitted to bar; entered Union army as Colonel of 4th Indiana Cavalry; candidate for Congress on Republican ticket, and defeated, 1866; advocated election of Greeley, 1872; elected Lieutenant-Governor of Indiana, as a Democrat, in 1876; served as Governor after death of Governor Williams; nominated for Lieutenant-Governor, 1880, and defeated; elected Governor of Indiana, as Democrat, 1884, running nearly 1000 votes ahead of the National ticket; a prominent candidate for Vice-President before Chicago National Convention.

carriage by land, upon horseback or in cart, of hats, of wools and woolen goods, of the produce of America, a regulation which effectually prevents the establishment of any manufacture of such commodities for distant sale, and confines the industry of her colonists in this way to such coarse and household manufactures as a private family commonly makes for its own use, or for that of some of its neighbors in the same province."

The enactments cited are fair samples of those which went to compose the English Colonial policy. They help to an understanding of the leading object, which was to limit Colonial America to a farming community. America was to play the part of India and Australia, as a cereal feeder of a little island whose commercial and manufacturing genius was far in excess of its ability to supply the necessaries of life for its working population.

Of course the suspicion could not escape so inquiring a country, that America might prove as rich in raw materials, suited to English manufacture, as in farm products. Therefore the English policy, when fully developed, made America a provider of food and of raw materials for England. England, the main market, would receive nothing manufactured in the colonies. England, the supreme country, would permit nothing to be manufactured in the colonies. England, the dominant commercial country, would permit no trade with the colonies, except in British bottoms, and of an agricultural surplus, or a raw material, in exchange for her own manufactured products.

This was severe on the colonial agriculturist, who, not having a voice in the carrying trade, nor a say in what should come to him, could not thus early raise an agricultural surplus sufficient to pay for what he was compelled to receive as an import. He could not manufacture, except as

to the coarse things necessary for family use, and he could not have interchanged manufactures between the provinces by using the natural waterways nor by means of carts.

The colonist paid nothing on his imports. They were free. The prohibition was on his exports, and especially if in manufactured shape. The prohibition was on his domestic change of manufactured articles. All inducement to manufacture was taken away. A home market for agricultural products, or for raw materials, was not to be encouraged or tolerated. The plan was ingenious and most successful, so far as English manufacturers and capitalists were concerned. In 1771 colonial imports exceeded the exports by $13,000,000, and as trade was more nearly barter than now, it may be said that the colonies incurred a debt to England of $13,000,000 in 1771, which they had no visible means of paying.

It must not be supposed that the British policy was effecting all its objects. Nature and opportunity in America were entering their quiet protests. After the invention of the puddling furnace and rolling-mill by Henry Cort, we find the English statutes most rigid against the exportation of tools, utensils and artisans to foreign parts, as in 1785 and 1799. Yet the first rolling-mill in America was built and started for Col. Isaac Meason, at Plumsock, Fayette county, Pa., by two Welshmen, Thomas and George Lewis, who came under the prohibited head of "British skilled iron-workers," and as such were compelled to smuggle their way across the Atlantic and into the colony of Penn.

So, nature having provided excellent ship timber and the colonists having a genius for ship-building and sailing, they quietly established a remunerative trade with the West Indies and with many nations more or less remote. This was intolerable to the mother country. The Navigation

Act was passed as a remedy. It provided that "No goods or commodities whatever, the growth, production or manufacture of Europe, Africa or America, shall be imported into England or Ireland, or into any of the Plantations (American colonies), except in ships belonging to English subjects, of which the master and the greater number of the crew shall also be English."

This and subsequent navigation acts destroyed our West India trade. Prices of goods imported and exported, and their quantities, fell entirely under English jurisdiction. All she sent to us was free of duty. All sent to her was upon her own conditions. Nothing could be sent, except in her bottoms, and to the destination and upon the terms she imposed. As Burke said in Parliament, "By it (the Navigation Act) the commerce of the colonies was not only tied, but strangled."

Our Revolutionary history, familiar to every schoolboy, acquaints us with the English method of extracting revenue directly from her colonies by means of such inventions as the Stamp Act, the Tea Tax, etc. They were but parts of an ingenious and stupendous system of home protection which eventuated in established manufactures and commerce, and in a final declaration of independence of the rest of the world in these respects.

Just here, the thought is foreign to neither the theme nor time, it may well be wondered why so astute a nation as Great Britain, after two hundred years of an attempt to make a simple wheat granary of America, and after the energies which followed American independence fully established the fact that such a granary was within reach, did not rather choose to take advantage of it, than fly to others in India and in the Islands of the sea, far more remote and far less obedient to the comities of trade. Did she

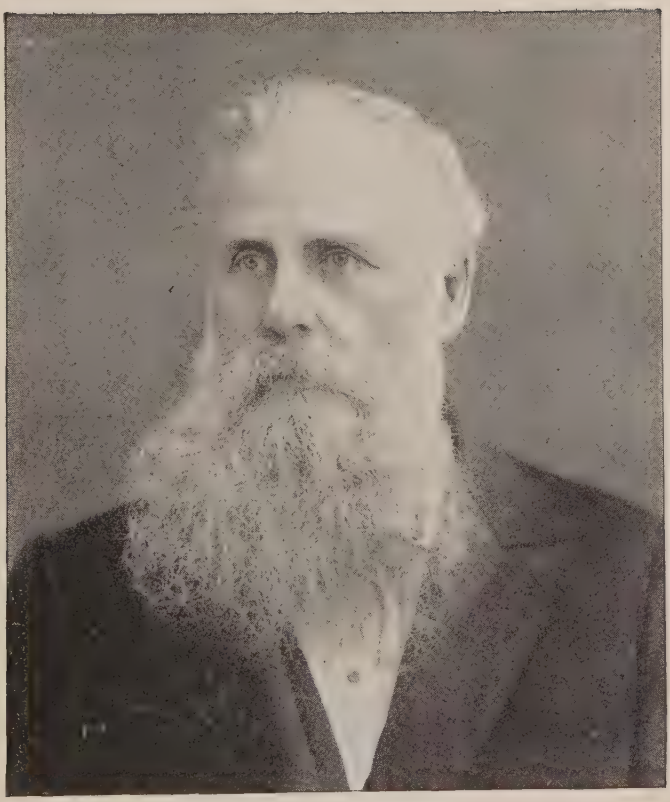
scent the possibilities of American development and the rise of a home market, which would absorb the annual agricultural product, or at least create a demand from which her capital would shrink?

A FIRST EXPERIMENT.

After the treaty of 1783 which closed the Revolutionary war and established American Independence, up until 1789, the date of the first American Tariff Act, the ports of this country were open to the goods of all nations. Most of this time (to 1787) was the era of the Confederacy. This period was one during which the States were held together by very weak ties, by "a rope of sand" as one historian has it. They had conceded little in their "Articles of Confederation," and had withheld entirely from the central government the right to regulate their commerce. Each State strove to secure trade for itself, and each imposed restrictions on foreign commerce as it saw fit, or left them unimposed. The consequence was that there was no concert of action. The condition which arose was worse than a free-trade condition, for one State was sure to nullify the commercial enactments of another, through jealousy or some other motive.

When Pennsylvania imposed a slight tariff on certain classes of imports, New Jersey opened a free port at Burlington and flooded the city of Penn with smuggled goods. When New Jersey voted to impose a general tariff New York refused, and in revenge the free port of Paulus Hook began to supply New York with non-dutiable imports.

Thus the States were a prey to one another. The statesmen of the day saw how suicidal the policy, or rather, the lack of policy, was, and there was no one source of weakness that seemed so fatal, nor the lack of any vital principle



HON. JOSEPH N. DOLPH.

Born in Watkins co., New York, October 19, 1835; educated at Genesee Weslyan Seminary; studied law and admitted to bar at Binghamton in 1861; enlisted in the "Oregon Escort," 1862; same year settled in Portland, Oregon; City Attorney of Portland and U. S. District Attorney of Oregon, 1864; elected to State Senate, 1866–68–72–74; conducted a large law business; engaged in various business enterprises; elected to the U. S. Senate, as a Republican, March 3, 1883; re-elected January, 1889; served with distinction on Committees of Claims, Public Lands, Commerce, Foreign Relations, Coast Defences; an earnest, eloquent, ripened statesman, respected by the Senate and honored in his State.

that impelled so powerfully toward a more perfect constitution than this commercial discord. Not even the flat refusal of New Jersey to comply with an Act of the Congress, nor the open offence of Massachusetts in raising troops to crush Shay's rebellion, affected the public mind so forcibly and paved the way so directly toward a stronger central union, as the quarrel between Virginia and Maryland as to commercial rights on the Chesapeake and Potomac. This last brought the Annapolis convention in 1786. Hamilton, Madison and Dickinson were there, and they saw no way of preventing the subordination of the States to foreign influence and their extinction as sovereign bodies, except by creating a stronger central government and endowing it with powers sufficient for the settlement of all such discords.

It seemed to require some such mighty exigency to move the States to their second independence. There was nothing so supreme as the thought that colonial independence meant escape from a discriminative and ruinous commercial policy on the part of Great Britain. Search the colonial debates through, and there is not one of moment that does not inveigh against the efforts of England to enrich herself at the expense of other nations, and to complete her commercial and industrial supremacy by overriding their protective systems and sapping their powers for competitive and independent existence. The Declaration of Independence submits it to "a candid world" that Great Britain meant to establish "an absolute tyranny over these States" by "cutting off our trade with all parts of the world," and that among the foremost rights of a free people is the right to "establish commerce."

Says a learned historian: "The most fatal defect of the Articles of Confederation was absence of power to collect revenue, regulate trade, encourage industry. The thoughts

of all our early statesmen were turned to this defect, which to them was the more glaring, because of intimate acquaintance with the British system. So paramount was the necessity for escape from industrial and commercial dependence, and so momentous was deemed the power to protect ourselves that Washington confidently looked to the trade regulations of a more efficient government as a means of giving the country its proper weight in the scale of empires and, with a feeling foreign to his better nature, he declared that such government "will surely impose retaliating restrictions, to a certain degree, upon the trade of England."

The proceedings of the Continental Congress abound in debates, resolutions and committees, having for their object the promotion of home products and the development of home resources. There seemed to be no question among the leaders of thought, so far as the debates show, of the right and duty of the government to foster industry by legislative enactment, nor of the necessity for a new government endowed with ample power to provide revenue through a tariff and at the same time protect its vital interests.

But while this was all so in the minds of statesmen, the inchoate States were afloat on the sea of discord. They had industry, commerce, tariffs, in their own hands. There was no uniform import law, and consequently none at all. One State nullified the laws of another. They were, as Hamilton said, "jarring, jealous and perverse, fluctuating and unhappy at home, and weak by their dissensions in the eyes of other nations."

A prey to one another, they were the natural victims of more knowing, designing, older, richer and advanced nations, and especially that one which sought to revenge defeat of arms by political segregation and commercial conquest.

With intelligence and the instinct of self-preservation arrayed against free traffic with foreign nations, there existed the hard compulsion of circumstances to render the States helpless. Depleted by a long war, with few factories, mills and workshops, with limited means of recuperation, with thirteen hostile systems of commercial independence, they were at the entire mercy of the foreign merchant and manufacturer. There was absolutely no law against importations. The era was one of free-trade, uninterrupted by effective statute, unimpaired by anything except ineffective sentiment.

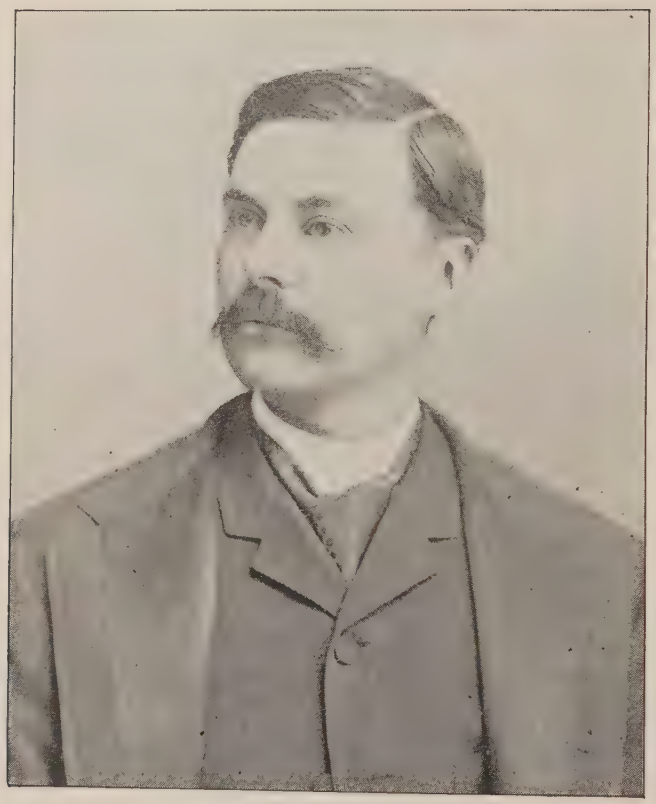
The consequences must be faced. Says Carey:—"At the close of the Revolution the trade of America was free and unrestrained in the fullest sense of the term, according to the theory of Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, the 'Edinburgh Reviewers' and the authors of the 'Encyclopædia.' Her ports were open, with scarcely any duties, to the vessels and merchandise of other nations." What befell? As the States were discordant, foreign powers passed laws as they pleased to destroy our commerce. Nearly every foreign nation shipped goods into the country and dumped them promiscuously on our wharves. The consequences followed which never fail to follow such a state of things. Competition on the part of our manufacturers was at an end. They were bankrupted and beggared. The merchants whose importations had ruined them were involved in calamity. Farmers, who had longed to buy foreign merchandise cheap, went down in the vortex of general destruction.

Said a statesman of the day, "The people of America went to war to improve their condition and throw off the burdens which the colonial system laid on their industry. And when their independence was attained they found it was a piece of parchment. The arm which had struck for it in the field was palsied in the workshop. The industry

which had been burdened in the colonies was crushed in the free States. At the close of the revolution the mechanics and manufacturers of the country found themselves, in the bitterness of their hearts, independent—and *ruined*."

Says Bancroft, of the year 1785, "It is certain that the English have the trade of these States almost wholly in their hands, whereby their influence must increase; and a constantly increasing scarcity of money begins to be felt, since no ship sails to England without large sums of money aboard, especially the English packet boats, which monthly take with them between forty and fifty thousand pounds sterling. The scarcity of money makes the produce of the country cheap, to the disappointment of farmers and the discouragement of husbandry. Thus the two classes, the farmer and the merchant, that divide nearly all America, are discontented and distressed."

Said Webster of this period, in a speech delivered in 1833, "From the close of the war of the Revolution there came a period of depression and distress on the Atlantic Coast, such as the people had hardly felt during the crisis of the war itself. Ship-owners, ship-builders, mechanics, artisans, all were destitute of employment and some of them destitute of bread. British ships came freely, and British ships came plentifully; while to American ships and American products there was neither protection on the one side nor the equivalent of reciprocal free-trade on the other. The cheaper labor of England supplied the inhabitants of the Atlantic shores with everything. Ready-made clothes, among the rest, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet, were for sale in every city. All these things came free from any general system of imposts. Some of the States attempted to establish their own partial systems, but they failed."



HON. FRED. T. DUBOIS.

Born in Crawford co., Ill., May 29, 1851; graduated at Yale, 1872; Secretary of Board of Railway and Warehouse Commissioners of Illinois, 1875–76; moved to Idaho and entered business, 1880; United States Marshal of Idaho, 1882–86; elected Delegate to 50th and 51st Congresses; elected, as Republican, to United States Senate, December 18, 1890; one of the youngest members of Senate; member of Committees on Manufactures, Enrolled Bills, Immigration, Irrigation, Organization and Expenditures of Executive Department.

There is no history of America covering this time but what repeats the above views, over and over again, and if anything, in still more lugubrious terms.

The situation simply affirmed what Lord Goderich said in Parliament:—"Other nations know that what we English mean by free-trade is nothing more nor less than, by means of the great advantages we enjoy, to get the monopoly of all the markets of other nations for our manufactures, and to prevent them, one and all, from ever becoming manufacturing nations."

With equal sincerity and emphasis David Syme, another member of Parliament, declared:—"In any quarter of the globe where competition shows itself as likely to interfere with English monopoly, immediately the capital of her manufacturers is massed in that particular quarter, and goods are exported there in large quantities, and sold at such prices that outside competition is immediately counted out. English manufacturers have been known to export goods to a distant market and sell them under cost for years with a view of getting the market into their own hands again, and keep that foreign market, and step in for the whole when prices revive."

END OF THE FREE-TRADE ERA.

It became manifest to even the dullest mind that America was about to lose her political independence in the mire of industrial and commercial subserviency. Says Mason:—

"Depreciation seized upon every species of property. Legal pressure to enforce payment of debts caused alarming sacrifices of both personal and real-estate; spread distress far and wide among the masses of the people; aroused in the hearts of the sufferers the bitterest feelings against lawyers, the courts and the whole creditor class; led to a popular

clamor for stay-laws and various other radical measures of supposed relief, and finally filled the whole land with excitement, apprehension and sense of weakness and a tendency to despair of the Republic. Inability to pay even necessary taxes became general, and often these could be collected only by levy and sale of the homestead."

Figures began to pile up and to tell their awful tale. In 1784–85, imports from Great Britain alone swelled to $30,000,000, while our exports reached barely $9,000,000. In Hildreth's history we read: "The large importation of foreign goods, subject to little or no duty, and sold at peace prices, was proving ruinous to all those domestic manufactures and mechanical employments which the non-consumption agreements and the war had created and fostered. Immediately after the peace, the country had been flooded with imported goods, and debts had been unwarily contracted, for which there was no means to pay."

In Maine a Convention was held for the purpose of revolting from Massachusetts on account of the prevailing distress. In New Hampshire the people surrounded the Legislative hall and declared the body should not adjourn till it passed a measure to absolve the people from debt. Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts was but a protest against suffering on the part of the people. In speaking of its causes Hildreth says: —"The want of a certain and remunerative market for the produce of the farmer, and the depression of domestic manufactures by competition from abroad."

In Connecticut alone five hundred farms were offered for sale to pay taxes. The condition was the same in Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. Real estate found no market. Debtors were compelled to close out at one-fourth the value of their lands. Men distrusted one another. The best securities were offered at half their face value.

At length the newspapers of the period, without regard to party, began to clamor for change. Pamphleteers arose without number, and joined in the cry of necessity for a change. Merchants, business men, farmers, artisans, laborers echoed the universal sentiment:—"We have had enough of free-trade. It has but one meaning for America, and that is utter neglect of ourselves and the forced sale of our energies, opportunities and resources to the older and better equipped nations. We have won political independence at a cost of seven years of war, we have yet to win the still longer battle for industrial and commercial independence, or else the victory of foreign nations over us will be greater than our recent victory over them."

Every one saw what was patent to John Stuart Mill, and what he incorporated into his "Principles of Political Economy," that: "What prevented the rapid recuperation of the United States, after the peace of 1783, was the system of free foreign trade, allowed to add its devastations upon industry to those of the Revolution."

Educated by a dreadful experience, it became the conviction of all parties that the power of industrial and commercial protection, so conspicuously and fatally absent in the Articles of Confederation, must repose somewhere. No other thought impelled more powerfully toward a Union of States under a Federal Constitution. "Four causes," says Bancroft, "above others, exercised a steady and commanding influence. The New Republic, as one nation, *must have power to regulate its foreign commerce; to colonize its large domain; to provide an adequate revenue; to establish* justice in domestic trade by prohibiting the separate States from impairing the obligation of contracts."

From this time on till the Constitution became a fact, September 17, 1787, or rather, until the Government became

a fact, April 30, 1789, a unanimous political and business sentiment persistently and eloquently urged a stronger government, imbued with the paternal instinct, able and willing to defend and encourage home industries and interests. State responded to State in this behalf; statesmen echoed the complaints and arguments of statesmen. Every political school joined in the pleas for industrial and commercial independence. One of the most assuring phases of the situation was the entire unanimity of artificers, mechanics and working men, who gathered in large assemblies, and by means of public speeches, whose logic was even more forcible than those of learned statesmen, and by printed resolutions of great vigor and aptness, demanded exemption from the degrading and ruinous competition forced upon them by the free and inordinate influx of foreign goods, upon whose manufacture they depended for a living.

Under these auspices the New Constitution took shape, and Clause 1 of Section VIII. provided that "Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, and to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States."

In order to achieve what was equally important in an industrial and commercial sense, viz., perfect interchange of goods and products between the States themselves, or in other words "free-trade" between all the inhabitants of the Union, it was ordained that Congress should never have the power to levy "a tax or duty on articles exported from any State."

Thus endowed, the New Government started on its career. The writers of the Federalist, Hamilton, Madison and others, saw in the above clauses sufficient power to remedy the evils complained of, and they eloquently assured their coun-

HON. JAMES Z. GEORGE.

Born in Monroe co., Ga., October 20, 1826; moved to Mississippi when young; participated in Mexican war; studied law and admitted to practice in Carroll co.; elected Reporter of Appellate Court, 1854 and 1860; reported ten volumes of reports and published a digest of decisions; member of Secession Convention, 1861; Brigadier-General in Confederate army; Chairman of Democratic State Executive Committee, 1875–76; appointed a Judge of State Supreme Court, 1879; elected Chief-Justice; elected to United States Senate, 1881; re-elected 1886 and 1892; member ef the Mississippi Constitutional Convention, 1890; member of Committees on Agriculture, Education and Labor, Judiciary, Transportation, etc.

trymen that the protection they demanded for their infant industries could now be given beyond doubt.

Says Bishop: "That the productive classes regarded the Constitution of 1787 as conferring the power and right of protection to the infant manufactures of the country is manifest from the jubilant feeling excited in various quarters upon the public ratification of that instrument."

THE FIRST TARIFF ACT.

The first petition presented to the First Congress, in March, 1789, came from 700 mechanics and tradesmen of Baltimore. It lamented the decline of manufactures since the Revolution, and prayed that the efficient Government with which they were, for the first time, blessed, would render the country "*independent in fact as well as in name*" by early attention to the encouragement and protection of American manufactures and by imposing on "*all foreign articles which could not be made in America such duties as would give a decided preference to their labors.*"

Leagues of artisans and tradesmen, merchants and manufacturers were formed in all the leading cities and industrial centres, for the purpose of urging on Congress an early interpretation of the new powers conferred by the Constitution in the interest of industry and commerce. Charleston shipwrights followed the Baltimore artisans with a powerful petition to the First Congress. Similar petitions came in from Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

As already stated, the universal sentiment of the hour was that the Constitution gave Congress ample power to regulate commerce by a tariff for revenue, for protection or for prohibition, as the case might be. The words "for the regulation of commerce" had a well-understood meaning among American statesmen. They were the words used in

English enactments when like objects were in view and when like powers were conferred, and they had been interpreted so often both on the bench and in actual practice that rational dissent to their meaning was out of the question. Hamilton, Franklin, Madison, Jefferson, Monroe, accorded perfectly as to the nature of the power and the object of the clause. Gallatin said that on his entrance into public life he found but one sentiment respecting the clause among statesmen. There was then no such objection as afterwards arose, and still exists, and which is to the effect that a power to raise revenue by a tariff does not carry the power to protect home manufactures and industries.

Said Washington in his first annual message, "The safety and interest of a free people require that they promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essentials, particularly military supplies."

The question of a tariff was thus injected into the First Congress, and became the first theme for discussion. It was a Congress which embraced many farmers, merchants and manufacturers, an industrial rather than professional Congress, though, of course, containing many illustrious lawyers and statesmen. That first great question thrust upon it has survived all others, and is as momentous to-day as ever. The other class of questions which drew fiercer, but not more learned, discussion, such as nullification, the national bank, slavery, secession, reconstruction, has happily found a grave.

After the passage of a bill regulating the oath of office, the Congress took up the tariff bill, and it became the first general Act of the First Congress. Its preamble foreshadowed its purport: "Whereas, it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debt of the United States, and for the encouragement and pro-

tection of manufactures, that duties be laid on imported goods, therefore be it enacted," etc.

This preamble drew no dissent. Statesmen North and South gave it sanction. The bill itself drew the widest range of debate, and the learning brought into the discussion of its merits has never been surpassed in considering the same subject, though of course facts, statistics and experience have changed the lines of argument, and remodelled theories. This learning not only bore on all the economic phases of the question, as then understood, but it was exhaustive of the principle that the Constitution designed to secure to the infant manufactures and struggling industries of the country the protection they needed against the riper experience and cheaper labor of Europe.

The debates upon this bill were not as to the necessity for protection, nor as to the fact that the legislation proposed was or was not in principle the best for the purpose. They were rather upon the question of general method of procedure, and as to whether or not the States might be robbed of some of their reserved rights if too liberal a construction were thus early put upon the Constitution. The question of what rate of duty would raise the required revenue and what would insure the needed protection was also a novel one and the subject of animated discussion, as it broke entirely new ground, and was beyond the range of all precedents and experience. Among the leading debaters were James Madison, Richard Henry Lee, Charles Carroll, Rufus King, Oliver Ellsworth, Fisher Ames, Roger Sherman, James Trumbull, and others, and these all impressed their genius and wisdom on the First American Tariff Act.

The Act became a law by the signature of Washington, affixed July 4, 1789. The rates of duty provided by the Act were, in modern acceptation, ridiculously low, yet as

the legislation was entirely experimental, and as there were no precedents to steer by, there was general acquiescence in the provisions, not only as insuring revenue but as establishing protection. The class of articles subjected to duty is the best guide to the spirit of the Act. It imposed the highest duties on those manufactures and industries which were deemed most in need and most worthy of encouragement. They embraced the iron and steel of Pennsylvania; the glass of Maryland; the cotton, indigo and tobacco of the Southern States; the wool, leather, paper and fisheries of the Eastern States. There was hardly an article introduced into it whose freedom from foreign competition had not been petitioned for, and the desirability of whose home growth or manufacture had not been made clear to the majority in Congress.

A powerful spur to the passage of this Act had been the oft-repeated boast of Great Britain that while America had achieved political independence, it had been reconquered commercially, and was a more abject and useful appendage than before. It was therefore quite natural that the friends of the Act, and those who hoped most from its provisions, should regard it as in the nature of a second Declaration of Independence, and as far more valuable to the Government and the people for the spirit it evinced and the possibilities it contained, than for the rates of duty it established.

This Act was followed the next year, 1790, by Hamilton's lengthy and able report upon "Commerce and Manufactures." This report was designed to emphasize the principle of protective legislation. It embraced all the learning and experience of the older nations bearing upon the subject, and it served the purpose of reconciling an almost universal party sentiment to the operations of the Act of 1789, while it more than ever committed the budding nation

to the doctrine he advocated. It was in this report that he enunciated the principle which protectionists of to-day claim to be fully proved by experience, to wit, that internal competition is an effectual corrective of monopoly, and in the end tends to a lower scale of prices for protected manufactures than prevailed for foreign. His interpretation of the powers conferred on the Government by the clause of the Constitution relating to taxes, revenue and the common defence has been accepted by all political parties, and it now prevails without regard to party lines.

This Act of 1789 and this report of 1790 form the beginning of an historic and practical protective era in the United States. It was an era which lasted, under varying conditions, which we shall note, up until 1816.

The previous session of the First Congress had been an extra one. It was now, January 4, 1790, in First Regular Session at Philadelphia and had received Hamilton's celebrated report. Federals and Anti-Federals divided over the payment of the debts, especially those of the States, and the doctrine of open or close construction of the Constitution was fast shaping up political lines. However, there was very little division of sentiment on the propriety of increasing the rates of duty provided by the Act of July 4, 1789, and they were increased by the Act of August 10, 1790, which went into effect January 1, 1791.

During the Second Session of the First Congress, which opened October 24, 1791, at Philadelphia, there was much excitement owing to opposition to the Excise Laws of the previous session and the rebellion against them in Pennsylvania, known as the "Whiskey Rebellion." The animosities thus aroused served to widen the gap between the Federals and Anti-Federals, but not enough to defeat further tariff legislation. The Act of May 2, 1792, was passed without

much difficulty. It took effect July 1, 1792, and it increased the *ad valorem* rates of duty from 2½ to 5 per cent. This was the third Tariff Act in three years, and the drift of legislation was in favor of higher and more protective duties.

During the First Session of the Third Congress which met December 2, 1793, party lines became still more distinct over matters of tariff legislation. The Anti-Federals had now taken the name of Republicans, and, though without a definite policy of their own, found means of coherence and growth in opposing Federal doctrines. Yet it was a comparatively easy matter to pass the Tariff Act of June 7, 1794, which took effect July 1, 1794. All parties were agreed as to the necessity of providing additional revenue, which the increased *ad valorem* rates in the Act were designed to secure. All parties were also agreed that a tariff was the quietest and easiest way of attaining such revenue, and the Anti-Federals, or Republicans, who had violently opposed the excise laws, were even more fully committed to a tariff as a revenue measure than the Federals. They, however, began to draw the line when the doctrine of protection was broached. Not all, of course, but a few whose strict construction notions dominated their economic views.

The next tariff legislation was the Act of May 13, 1800, which took effect July 1, 1800. This legislation was not difficult and was still in the line of protective duties. It raised the duties on sugar half a cent a pound and on silks 2½ per cent.

On March 26, 1804, an amended Tariff Act was passed which took effect July 1, 1804. It must be remembered that now the country had undergone a political revolution, that the Republicans were in power in Congress and that Jefferson was President. Yet the Tariff Act of 1804 was in the line of increased duties.

All the Acts thus far were amendatory of the original Act of 1789, and were helpful of the provisions and operations of that Act. As sufficient time had elapsed to form opinions of the workings of that Act, or in other words, to witness the effects of incorporating protective tariff legislation into our institutions, it will be profitable to turn to the sentiment of the times respecting it.

In his seventh annual message, Washington said:—"Our agriculture, commerce and manufactures prosper beyond example. Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived."

John Adams in his last annual message said:—"I observe with much satisfaction that the product of the revenue during the present year is more considerable than at any former period."

Thomas Jefferson in his second annual message said:—"To protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances is one of the land-marks by which we should guide ourselves."

The provisions of the Act of 1789 and its amendments had, in their practical workings, so far exceeded expectations, that in 1806 Jefferson found the revenues more than ample for the requirements of the Government. In speaking of the surplus he said in his sixth annual message:—"Shall we suppress the imposts and give that advantage to foreign over our domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the suppression, in due season, will doubtless be right, but the great mass of the articles on which imposts are laid are foreign luxuries, purchased only by the rich, who can afford themselves the use of them."

In 1809 he wrote to Humphrey thus:—"My own idea is

that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own home consumption of everything of which we raise the raw materials."

Said Madison in his special message of May 23, 1809:—"It will be worthy of the just and provident care of Congress to make such further alterations in the laws as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufactures which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens."

Says Harriman in writing of the Tariff of 1789:—"Agriculture became more extensive and prosperous; Commerce increased with wonderful rapidity; old industries were revived and many new ones established; our merchant navy revived and multiplied; all branches of domestic trade prospered; our revenues exceeded the wants of government; the people became contented and industrious; the whole country was on the high road to wealth and prosperity."

THE EMBARGO AND TARIFF OF 1812.

Now while many provisions in the Tariff Acts up to 1808 embraced the protective doctrine, such as duties on hemp, cordage, glass, nails, salt and various manufactures of iron, as has been noted the duties were low, according to present standards. Protection of the textiles and of unmanufactured iron had not been much thought of. But they were soon to draw attention and become the great subjects of the protective controversy.

The year 1808 marks a turning-point in the industrial history of our country. The Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon and the English Orders in Council led to the Embargo Act of December, 1807. The Non-Intercourse Act followed it in 1809. War was declared against Great

HON. RANDALL L. GIBSON.

Born in Woodford co., Ky., September 10, 1832; graduated at Yale and from Law Department of Tulane University; entered Confederate service and rose to rank of Division Commander; acquired a large law practice, and engaged in planting; elected to 43d Congress, but denied admission; elected to 44th, 45th, 46th and 47th Congresses; elected, as Democrat, to United States Senate, 1882, and re-elected 1888; one of trustees of Peabody Fund, and a Regent of Smithsonian Institution; member of Committees on Agriculture, Commerce, Naval Affairs, Transportation, etc.

Britain in 1812. On July 1, 1812, the Tariff Act was passed, which became a law immediately.

The passage of this Act was strongly urged by Madison in his message to the Twelfth Congress:—"As a means to preserve and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence and attained an unparalleled maturity throughout the United States during the period of the European wars." The younger leaders of the Republican party took up Madison's request and were prepared to go to any length to grant it. Calhoun and Lowndes joined their logic to Clay's eloquence in favor of the doctrine that protection to home industries should no longer occupy a place secondary to the revenue idea. South Carolina became the highest protection State in the Union, England having levied a duty on raw cotton. The entire Republican party swung away from its strict construction notions and became such liberal interpreters as that they quoted with the utmost favor the report of Hamilton upon which the earlier Tariff Acts were based. The Federals were dazed with the situation, and, failing to see anything good in their opponents, quite forgot their own traditions, and swung, under the lead of Webster, quite to the anti-protection side of the controversy.

Out of the confused situation came the "American Idea" and the Whig party, which was Clay's outlet from the strict construction columns. The Tariff Act of the session—a Republican, or, as some have it, a Democratic Act—marks the highest rates of duty reached from the foundation of the government up till 1842. It practically doubled the rates existing before. Sugar went from 2½ cents per pound to 5 cents; coffee from 5 cents to 10 cents; tea from 18 cents to 36; pig iron from 17½ per cent. to 30 per cent.; bar iron from 17½ per cent. to 30; glass from 22½ per cent. to 40; manufactures of cotton from 17½ per cent. to

30; woolens from 17 per cent. to 30; silk from 15 per cent. to 25.

The Embargo Act of 1808, the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, and the highly protective Tariff Act of 1812, constituted a series of restrictive measures which had the efficacy of prohibitive duties. They gave an enormous stimulus to all branches of industry whose products had before been imported. Establishments for the manufacture of cottons, woolens, iron, glass, pottery and other articles, sprang up as if by magic. The success of this extreme protection formed the basis of that powerful movement which subsequently became the heritage of the Whig party, and which had for its object the decided limitation of foreign competition both as to manufactures and commerce.

TARIFF ACT OF 1816.

The logic of the Tariff Act of 1816 is not understood by economists, nor can it be accounted for by any one except upon the theory that having passed through a war, the country would probably settle back into some such condition as existed prior to 1808. The controlling element in Congress was still the young element, the element responsible for the war and therefore responsible for its results. They had proven themselves avowed protectionists by the passage of the Tariff Act of 1812, and by the favor with which they regarded the new manufactures which had arisen. They were still willing to assist them, for they clung to fair duties in the Act of April 27, 1816, on those goods in which the most interest was felt, as in textile fabrics.

But here the fatality which overhung the Act came in. Cotton and woolen goods were to pay a duty of 25 per cent. —a protective duty—till 1819. After that they were to pay 20 per cent. On some other classes of goods the duties

were decreased directly, on others increased. As to the textiles, Calhoun urged strongly the argument in favor of protecting young industries, and at the same time limiting the protection, after a period when they ought to be on their feet.

As a whole the Act of 1816 was protective, but it looked to a period only three years off, when it would no longer be so. This was its misfortune. It prepared foreign nations for our market. Though our breadstuffs, provisions, cotton and every product of the soil were high in price; though wages and rents were high; the currency was very weak and unsettled. Home competition had reduced the price of our manufactured products. The manufacturers of Great Britain found their warehouses bursting with wares. They looked with awe on the American situation, which revealed to them the fact that our home industries had robbed them of a market. This must not be. Those industries are only tentative. By 1819, when the duties of 1816 reach their minimum, they can no longer survive. We will begin the crushing process now. Said Lord Brougham in the House of Commons, "It is well worth while to incur a loss upon our first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle, those infant manufactures in the United States, which the war has forced into existence."

Great Britain began to unload her surplus manufactures upon our shores at far below cost. They were goods that were not new, nor fashionable, nor in demand at home. The protective features of the Act of 1816 were insufficient to stay the flood. More than twice the quantity were imported that could be consumed. Great depression in business set in. Bankruptcy became general. The near approach of 1819, when the minimum rates of duty should go into effect, but encouraged the inflow of foreign products. Says

Thomas H. Benton, "No price for property; no sales except those of the sheriff and marshal; no purchasers at execution sales save the creditor or some money hoarder; no employment for industry; no sale for the products of the farm; no sound of the hammer save that of the auctioneer knocking down property. Distress was the universal cry of the people; relief, the universal demand, was thundered at the doors of Legislatures, State and Federal."

This condition of affairs appalled Congress and brought about the Tariff Act of 1818, which simply extended the already ineffective provisions of the Act of 1816 for a period of seven years and placed some few free articles on the dutiable list. It did not prove remedial to the extent expected and the panic of 1817–19 extended over a period of several years.

TARIFF ACT OF 1824.

The sad condition of affairs, before described, rendered relief necessary. The liberal side of the Republican party held the ascendant in the Eighteenth Congress, December 1, 1823, and elected Clay Speaker of the House. In his message, President Monroe not only announced the celebrated "Monroe Doctrine," but inclined to the popular faction of his party on matters of protection and internal revenue. He urgently recommended "additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture."

A bill was framed and debated for two months. Calhoun who had deserted Clay, Daniel Webster and John Randolph, led the free-trade forces. Andrew Jackson and James Buchanan were among the strongest advocates of the bill. It did not fix rates as high as the Act of 1812, but it recognized the doctrine of protection more distinctly than any former Act. The strict constructionists urged their old argument against the constitutionality of protection and, for

HON. NATHAN GOFF.

Born in Clarksburg, W. Va., October 9, 1834; educated at N. W. Virginia Academy, Georgetown College, and University of New York; entered Union army (1861) in 3d Regiment W. Va. Volunteers; Major of 4th Va. Cavalry, 1863; admitted to bar, 1865; elected to W. Va. Legislature, 1868; appointed District Attorney and resigned, in 1881, to accept the Secretaryship of Navy under Garfield; re-appointed U. S. District Attorney for W. Va. in 1881; resigned same in 1882; elected to Congress, as Republican, in 1884 and 1886; candidate for Governor of State and elected, but unseated in disputed contest; a graceful orator, strong debater, and prominent Republican leader.

the first time in our history, supplemented it with the argument that a protective tariff was unfair to the South. As the lines shaped up they presented almost a solid array of Southern against a solid array of Northern States.

The bill passed by a close vote, May 22, 1824, and it fully engrafted the "American System" on our national politics. It fixed a duty on sugar of 3 cents per pound; coffee, 5 cents; tea, 25 cents; salt, 20 cents; pig-iron, 20 per cent.; bar-iron, $30 per ton; glass, 30 per cent. and 3 cents a pound; manufactures of cotton, 25 per cent.; woolens, 30 per cent.; silk, 25 per cent.

The financial and industrial situation responded promptly to this Act. There was such a pronounced betterment of affairs that the friends of the Act were encouraged to try their hand at further legislation in the line of protection.

TARIFF OF 1828.

In the Twentieth Congress the Democrats (formerly Republicans) were in a majority. They were divided, however, over a Protective Tariff. Those of the Northern States united with the National Republicans (Whigs) and brought about the Tariff Act of May 19, 1828. It was largely a Jackson measure, who had carried New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, on his protective tariff record.

This Act of 1828 had little peculiar about it, except that it increased the duty on woolens and few raw materials, including wool. Yet it proved to be one of the most momentous Tariff Acts in our history. (1) It emphasized the "American Idea" by introducing protection in every change of the Act of 1824. (2) It was the turning-point of the hitherto hostile New England sentiment, Webster having changed ground and entered on its advocacy. (3) The South entirely sectionalized its opposition to it, and justified

nullification of it as a blow at the planting interests, as a discrimination against unpaid labor, and as unconstitutional.

Of the operations of the two protective Acts of 1824 and 1828, Jackson said in his message of 1832:—Our country presents on every side marks of prosperity and happiness, unequalled perhaps in any portion of the world." Webster said:—"The relief was profound and general, reaching all classes—farmers, manufacturers, ship-owners, mechanics, day laborers." Clay said:—"If the term of seven years were selected to measure the greatest prosperity of this people since the establishment of the Constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the Tariff Act of 1824."

TARIFF ACT OF 1832.

The Tariff Act of 1828 led to bitter party and sectional turmoil. The South was bitterly opposed to it. It had become a kind of fashion to prepare for a National Campaign by amending the Tariff Act. An Act passed May, 1830, which scaled considerably the rates of duty of the Act of 1828, proved unsatisfactory, because it did not eliminate the protective features of that Act. The nullifying sentiment of the South demanded the repudiation of the protective policy and the affirmation of the free-trade policy by the government. It was a powerful sentiment and must be appeased, else Jackson could not hope to succeed himself.

Hence the Tariff Act of 1832, which reduced the rates of duty considerably and placed coffee and tea on the free list. It failed of its purpose, because it contained no repudiation of the protective idea. Nullification set in all the same and South Carolina, November 19, 1832, declared the Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832 "null and void."

TARIFF ACT OF 1833.

The Twenty-second Congress—December 3, 1832—at its second session, had to meet the question of Nullification. It passed the "Force Bill," which enabled Jackson to collect the duties under the Act of 1832, and then it changed the tenor of the Act by the Compromise Act introduced by Henry Clay, passed March 2, 1833, and designed to show to the nullifiers that the protectionists were not necessarily their enemies. It had the weakness of all compromises, and was immediately heralded by the nullifiers as their vindication, as a surrender of the "American System" and as a justification of South Carolina. It did not enact anything affirmatively, but took the tariff of 1832 as a basis, and scaled its rates by biennial reductions, till at the end of ten years a uniform rate of not exceeding 20 per cent. should prevail. This was ingenious and gradual repeal of a protective Act and a practical abandonment of the protective principle. It was notice to the people and was accepted as such by all foreign countries, that the United States had repudiated its earlier policy of protection. Henceforth the tariff was fully afloat on the sea of politics.

A very few biennial reductions brought the rates of the tariff of 1832 to where they were no longer protective, and there came an inundation of foreign goods as in 1817–19. Financial depression followed. Prices fell; production diminished; workmen became idle; farm products found no market; public revenue fell off 25 per cent.; the government had to borrow at a ruinous discount in order to pay current expenses. The nation was in the midst of the calamitous panic of 1837—worse even than that of 1818–19. Aside from the moral strain of the disaster, the money loss was estimated at $1,000,000,000.

TARIFF OF 1842.

The drift of popular sentiment was entirely away from Van Buren, 1837–1841. The Whigs took the lead and nominated William Henry Harrison, in December, 1839, without a platform. The Democrats renominated Van Buren in May, 1840, and placed him on an elaborate platform which contained the plank:—"Justice and sound policy forbids the government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or one section to the injury of another." It also contained a plank which read:—"The Constitution does not confer the right on the government to carry on a system of internal improvements."

Harrison was elected President and the Congress had a Whig majority of six in the Senate and twenty-five in the House. Harrison died in just one month after his inauguration, April 4, 1841, and Tyler became President. It was well known that he was not a protectionist. The Whigs enacted the Tariff Act of August 30, 1842, in obedience to a popular demand. The debates on it were acrimonious and, as to the opponents, involved the old arguments of 1828 and 1832, against the constitutionality of protection and the right to nullify an Act of Congress. It passed, however, and President Tyler vetoed it, giving as a reason that it violated the compromise of 1833, which, as to protection and revenue, was to run till 1842, and, as to non-discrimination against the planting interests, was practically without time. This Act contained pronounced protective features. Another Act was passed, without protective features, but with a clause providing for the distribution of any surplus that might arise to the States. This too was vetoed. A third Act was passed without the *surplus* clause. This became the Tariff Act of August 10, 1842.

HON. JOHN B. GORDON.

Born in Upson co., Ga., February 6, 1832; educated at University of Georgia; read law and admitted to bar; entered Confederate army and rose to rank of Major-General; wounded eight times; Democratic Candidate for Governor of Georgia, 1868; Presidential Elector for State-at-Large, 1868 and 1872; elected to U. S. Senate, as a Democrat, 1872; re-elected to Senate, 1879; elected Governor of State, 1886; re-elected, 1888; re-elected U. S. Senator, 1890; member of Committees on Civil Service, Coast Defences, Railroads, Territories and Transportation.

It found, under the operation of the Scaling Act of 1833, a uniform duty of 20 per cent. This it changed, by raising cotton goods to 30 per cent.; woolens to 40 per cent.; silks to $2.50 per pound; bar-iron to $25 per ton; pig-iron to $9 per ton; sugar to 2½ cents per pound. Tea and coffee remained free. Clay and Calhoun, who were together in the Compromise of 1833, were antagonists over this Act of 1842. This was the Twenty-seventh Congress.

The Act of 1842 was so shorn of its original features that it could scarcely be called protective, but such as it was it sufficed to lift the cloud of depression and introduce an era of prosperity which had not been witnessed since 1832. Business revived. Factories began to operate. Customs receipts rose and put the Government in possession of much needed revenue. Labor sprang into demand. Farm produce rose in price. A large demand arose for iron, wool, cotton, coal, and through competition in manufactures, and the introduction of labor-saving machinery, the prices of manufactured articles were cheaper than ever before. Roads, canals, ships, returned a profit. Corporations, States, and even the general Government, rose from bankruptcy to high credit. Said President Polk in his message of 1846, "Labor in all its branches is receiving ample reward. The progress of our country in resources and wealth and in the happy condition of our people, is without example in the history of nations."

THE TARIFF ACT OF 1846.

The National Whig Convention of 1844 introduced this plank into its platform:—"A tariff for revenue, discriminating with reference to protection of domestic labor." The Democrats reaffirmed their opposition to protection, as in the platform of 1840, though they went to the country on

the cry of "Polk, Dallas and the Tariff of 1842." The election of Polk and a Democratic House favored the passage, in the Twenty-ninth Congress, of a Tariff Act which should repeal or modify that of 1842, for it was known that the South was bent on such repeal. But northern Democrats refused to bow to the situation. Debate took a sectional turn. Northern Democrats pleaded the promises of the campaign, not to interfere with the Tariff of 1842. They were overruled. The Act of July 30, 1846, passed the House, which had a Democratic majority of 61 votes. In the Senate, which had a Democratic majority of five, it met with a tie, and the tie was broken by the casting vote of George M. Dallas, Vice-President, who voted in favor of the measure. The Act of 1846 reduced the rates of 1842, from 5 to 25 per cent., introduced the theory of general *ad valorem* duties, and affirmed the doctrine of revenue without incident protection. It was a disappointing Act to Northern Democrats and Whigs, and while it was far removed from the promises of the campaign, it nevertheless fitted in with the National platform.

While the reduced tariff of 1846, and the means by which such reduction was secured, led to that revulsion of public sentiment which culminated in the Whig successes of 1848, the country happily escaped for a time the disasters which had followed, quickly and inevitably, former tariff reductions.

The Mexican war (1846–48) created an extra demand for munitions and supplies estimated at over $100,000,000.

The discovery of gold in California (1849) increased the demand for labor, agricultural products, mining materials and shipping; and sent for ten years $55,000,000 a year in gold into the country.

The European countries were in revolution (1848–51).

Their agricultural and manufacturing industries were paralyzed. They could not export; on the contrary required food supplies.

The Crimean war followed, involving all Europe, and creating an extraordinary demand for American breadstuffs.

The Irish famine occurred and added to the demand for additional breadstuffs.

From 1846 to 1856 these adventitious aids to the industries and trade of the United States proved to be better than any protective agency that might have been sought through forms of tariff laws. But unfortunately they were foreign to sober enactment and any economic principle. They came and went without regard to our domestic situation, our comfort or discomfort, our weal or woe.

By 1854 the true economic condition began to assert itself. Foreign imports reappeared in our marts in amazing quantities and at demoralizing prices. The crises abroad being over, our exports declined. Manufactories suspended operations, being unable to compete with the supply from abroad.

In 1848 the national Democratic platform contained a plank denouncing a Tariff, except for revenue, and hailing "the noble impulse given to the cause of free-trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842, and the creation of the more equal, honest and productive tariff of 1846." The Whigs did not adopt a platform.

The National Democratic platform of 1852 reaffirmed that of 1848, in great part; and that of the Whigs affirmed "a tariff for revenue with suitable encouragement to American industry."

The Democratic platform of 1856 contained the plank:— "That the time has come for the people of the United

States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world."

The new Republican party did not introduce a tariff plank into its platform of 1856.

THE TARIFF ACT OF 1857.

In the Thirty-fourth Congress, December 3, 1855, the Democrats had a majority of 9 in the Senate, but their magnificent majority in the previous House was turned into a medley of straight Democrats, pro-slavery Whigs, Know-Nothings and Anti-Nebraska men. Owing to the Kansas-Nebraska troubles, the Congress was not a dispassionate body. While it showed a spirit of generosity in encouraging railroad enterprise and grants of public lands, it swung without apparent cause, and in the face of solemn admonitions, clear over to a free-trade policy, and under existing circumstances struck the country a cruel blow on the very last day of its Second Session, March 3, 1857. This is the date of the Tariff Act of that year. The only excuse offered for its passage was the redundancy of revenue. This was almost instantaneously met by a flood of importations, for the Act reduced duties along the entire line of imports of leading articles, almost to such rates as had prevailed before the war of 1812, and had prevailed at no time since, except at the end of the sliding scale in 1841, as provided in the Compromise Act of 1833.

As had ever been, the already tottering industries were struck with paralysis, and there occurred an exhaustive outpour of specie to foreign parts. Within six months of the passage of the Act the country was in the midst of distressing panic. No branch of industry escaped the disaster. Ruin was deep and universal. Ere it ceased there were 5,123 commercial failures. The government was compelled

HON. ISHAM G. HARRIS.

Born in Franklin co., Tenn.; educated at Winchester Academy; admitted to bar at Paris, Tenn., 1841; elected as Democrat to State Legislature, 1847; elected to Congress as Democrat to represent Ninth Congressional District, 1849; re-elected in 1851; moved to Memphis and continued law practice; elected Governor of State in 1857, 1859 and 1861; served during war as Aid to Commanding General of Confederate Army of Tennessee; resumed law practice at Memphis, 1867; elected to United States Senate in 1876; re-elected, 1883 and 1889; an able debater, earnest statesman of the strict-construction school, and popular with his constituents.

HON. MICHAEL D. HARTER.

Born at Canton, O., April 6, 1846; educated as a banker and manufacturer; an ardent advocate of economic reforms, and an able writer and speaker upon financial and industrial subjects; opposed to class legislation and to a debased currency; elected to 51st Congress, as a Democrat, for 15th Ohio District, by a majority of 3800 votes; re-elected to 52d Congress; distinguished in the debates of the Congress, and in shaping legislation; a studious, conservative, but courageous man, preferring the intelligent and sensible in politics to the sensational and temporary, and therefore a rational rather than radical factor in his party.

to borrow money for necessary expenses at a discount of eight to ten per cent. Up to 1861 the public debt increased $46,000,000, and during the same time the expenditures exceeded the receipts by $77,234,116. President Buchanan, in his annual message, said: "With unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and all the elements of natural wealth, our manufacturers have suspended; our public works are retarded; our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned; thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interests, is in a deplorable condition."

TARIFF ACT OF 1861.

The Democratic platform of 1860 affirmed that of 1856. The Republican platform favored a revenue for duties, with such adjustment of them as would "develop the industries of the whole country."

By the withdrawal of members from the Thirty-sixth Congress, to follow the seceding States, the Republicans came into a strong majority during the second session, met December 3, 1860. They improved their opportunity by the passage of the Tariff Act of March 2, 1861. The Act was natural to the party and the situation. It increased duties all along the line of imports, and reintroduced the protective principle which had prevailed with slight modification from 1789 to 1832, and from 1842 to 1846. It is needless here to inquire into the rates of duty established by this tariff. They differed radically from those imposed in the Act of 1857, and were so laid as to best effect the object of revenue, which was then, or soon would be, greatly

needed, and at the same time apply and confirm the doctrine of protection, as to labor, manufactures and a home market.

The war of the Rebellion helped to sanction this Act to the popular will and universal need. It was amended by the Act of December 24, 1861, so as to increase the revenues. It was still further amended by the Act of June 30, 1864, which increased rates of duty, and made them more protective. There was another amendment, March 2, 1867, which chiefly related to manufacture of woolens, an industry which had been greatly stimulated by the war, and which was threatened by foreign competition in time of peace.

The principle of both revenue and protection had now been strained to the uttermost by the exigency of war, and the period had arrived for a modification of duties. This modification came about under the amendatory Tariff Act of June 6, 1872, which reduced duties to a considerable extent, but without much discrimination, and added largely to the free list.

TARIFF ACT OF 1874.

Though this Act did not attempt general revision, and was still amendatory, it was nevertheless important in the respect that it was an attempt to correct the inconsiderate reductions of the Act of 1872. The panic of 1873 had followed the reductions of 1872, and though it was a world's panic, and hardly attributable to the legislation of any one nation, it served as a reminder that such catastrophes had invariably succeeded a too rapid reduction of duties and too wide a departure from the policy of protection. Therefore the Act of June 22, 1874, stiffened rates on dutiable articles of a kind which was liable to suffer from competition, broadened the protective idea as to new industries and home labor, and at the same time allowed a liberal free list, mostly of raw materials and unmanufactured articles. It was passed

during the first session of the Forty-third Congress, which had a large Republican majority.

TARIFF ACT OF 1883.

The Republican platform of 1880 contained a distinctive protective plank; the Democratic platform declared for "a tariff for revenue only." The Forty-seventh Congress had a Republican working majority in the House, but a tie in the Senate. Owing to the death of Garfield and the little work done by the previous Congress, it stood at the apex of an immense amount of legislation. At the first session, a bill was passed, May 15, 1882, creating a Tariff Commission. This Commission sat at various places during 1882, and its report became the basis of the Tariff Act of the succeeding session. It was a non-partisan Commission, and its existence was due to a sentiment pervading all parties that some highly deliberate step was necessary to correct the incongruities of existing Tariff Acts, and re-adapt rates of duty to our newer and more widely diversified industries.

The Commission worked laboriously, and with deference to the spirit of reform which had called it into existence, and, it may be said, with due regard to the sentiment of the hour against prohibitive, or even protective, rates as to established industries. Its conclusions pointed to measures which reduced duties along the entire line of imports, in general at least 25 per cent., in some cases more, in others less. Though the Congress did not adopt all of the conclusions of the Commission, its report, as already stated, formed the groundwork of the Act of 1883.

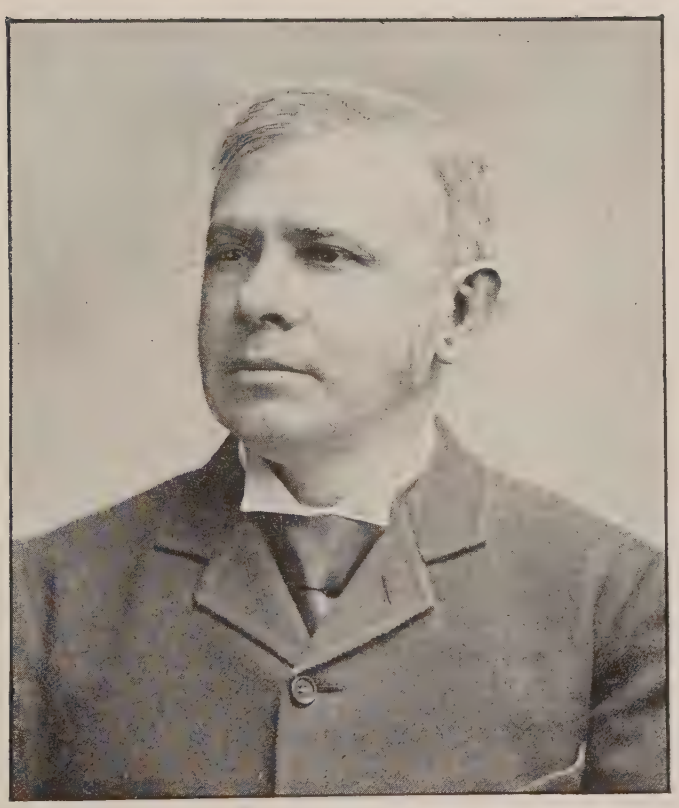
The Act was passed March 3, 1883, after protracted discussion. While it strove to equalize rates and abolish incongruities, it did not prove to be a success. Interests were so conflicting that it was impossible to avoid crudities and

hardships. The demands of manufacturers for lighter duties on, or for free, raw materials worked to the injury of the producing classes, and *vice versa*. The Act was in the nature of a compromise all round, but it showed that the entire country had come to regard this class of legislation as of the highest moment, and vital to its interests.

In the Forty-eighth Congress (1884), which, after the political "tidal wave" of 1882, contained a large Democratic majority in the House, a determined effort was made to pass the Morrison Tariff Bill, which provided for a horizontal reduction of duties to the extent of twenty per cent. The Democrats divided on the merits of the bill and it was disposed of by striking out its enacting clause.

TARIFF ACT OF 1890.

The Republican National platform of 1884 distinctly enunciated the doctrine of protection. The Democratic platform contained a pledge of "tariff revision." There was no further excitement over the tariff till President Cleveland delivered his message to Congress in December, 1887. It was devoted almost wholly to tariff systems and laws, excepted to existing duties on wool and necessaries, and directly opposed the protective idea. It was an earnest paper and had all the weight of a deliberate and special announcement to the American people. The free-trade wing of the party hailed it as a recognition of their views. The "revenue reform" element, headed by Mr. Randall, regarded it as unwise, as containing the seeds of political disaster, and as crushing out the minority element in the party. The Republicans treated it as a challenge to contest to the bitter end the issue of Free-Trade *vs.* Protection, though they regarded it as unnecessarily bitter in expression, especially in such sentences as, "But our present tariff laws,



HON. ANTHONY HIGGINS.

Born in New Castle co., Del., October 1, 1840; graduated at Yale, in 1861; studied law at Harvard Law School and admitted to bar, 1864; appointed Deputy Attorney-General, 1864; United States Attorney for Delaware, 1869–76; Chairman of Republican State Committee, 1868; candidate for United States Senate, 1881, and received vote of Republican members of Legislature; Republican candidate for Congress, 1884; elected to United States Senate, as Republican, in 1889; term expires March 3, 1895; first Republican Senator from State in great number of years; Chairman of Committee on Manufactures, and member of Committees on Coast Defences, District of Columbia, Interstate Commerce, and Privileges and Elections.

the vicious, inequitable and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended." The English press was profuse in its praise, and as the *Spectator* said, "His terse and telling message has struck a blow at American protection such as could never have been struck by any free-trade league."

What became known as the "Mills' Tariff Bill," supposably framed to meet the President's views, was reported to the House of Representatives March 1, 1888. It made significant reductions in existing tariff rates, and at once became the absorbing measure of the first session of the Fiftieth Congress. It was evident that upon it, and the repeal of internal taxation, party lines would be closely drawn, except as to the Democratic contingent led by Mr. Randall. The bill proved to have been hastily and crudely drawn, and the debates upon it took a wide range and were exhaustive of the merits of free-trade and protection. It passed the House July 21, 1888, but was met by a counter bill in the Senate, which embodied the Republican doctrine of protection. The two parties were now hopelessly wide apart, the time of the session was exhausted, and both appealed to the country on the record made in the Congress.

The Republican national platform of 1888 pledged uncompromising favor for the American system of protection. The Democratic platform reaffirmed that of 1884, endorsed the views of President Cleveland in his last annual message, and also the efforts of the Democratic Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

The issue of the campaign of 1888 is well known. With Harrison was elected a Republican Congress. The issue had been so wholly that of Free-trade *vs.* Protection that the way of the Republican majority was plain. The Com-

mittee of Ways and Means, whose chairman was William McKinley, invited all the interests concerned in tariff revision to a hearing. A bill was finally framed, which became known as the "McKinley Bill." The effort was to embody in the bill the experience of all former tariff legislation, and what was best of all former Acts; to impose rates of a distinctively protective character, and in the interest of American labor, on manufactures which could exist here, but whose existence was threatened by foreign competition; to impose similar rates on goods, such as tin plates, which we did not, but could manufacture, and ought to; to largely reduce the duty on necessaries, or exempt them altogether, as by making sugar free; to increase the free list by placing all raw materials on it whose importation did not compete with the home growth of the same; to introduce the policy of reciprocity by which we could gain something by enlarged trade in return for the loss of duties on sugars and such articles.

A great deal of thought was given to the bill, and it was fully debated in Congress. Perhaps no Tariff Act was ever passed, in whose preparation so many interests had been so fully consulted, and with whose provisions the varied interests were so fully satisfied. Certainly none ever passed that had to undergo more minute criticism, whose merits were more elaborately discussed, and respecting which so many prophecies, good and bad, were indulged. Its passage occupied the entire time of the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, and it was not until October 1, 1890, that it became a law. No other enactment of the Congress approached it in importance.

So prominent was this legislation, and such the character of prophecies respecting it, that hardly anything else was heard in the Congressional campaign of 1890. As the im-

aginations of its opponents had free play, and as nothing could be affirmed of its practical workings by its friends before it began to work, there was another political "tidal wave" like that of 1882, and the Democrats entered the Fifty-second Congress with an overwhelming majority.

They were under the same obligations to repeal the obnoxious McKinley Act, and enact a measure which embraced their views, as the Republicans were in the Fifty-first Congress. They were in far better condition to do this, as to the House, for their majority was overwhelming. They, however, did not attempt repeal or general revision, but introduced a series of Acts relating to special articles, such as the lowering of duties on manufactures of wool and on tin-plates, and the placing of wool, binding twine, etc., on the free list. The discussion of these provisions was animated, and in general they passed the House. They served to keep the sentiment of the respective parties prominent, and to shape the issues for a retrial in the campaign of 1892, by which time the practical workings of the Act of 1890 will have tested many theories, and will compel orators to hew closely to lines of facts and figures in order to carry conviction.

The McKinley Act increased duties on about 115 articles, embracing farm products, manufactures not sufficiently protected, manufactures to be established, luxuries, such as wines. It decreased duties on about 190 articles, embracing manufactures established, or which could not suffer from foreign competition. It left the duties unchanged on 249 articles. It enlarged the free list till it embraces 55.75 per cent. of all imports, or 22.48 more than previous tariffs. The placing of sugar on the free list was a loss of revenue equal to $54,000,000 a year.

DRIFT OF TARIFF LEGISLATION ABROAD.

The nations which occupy the Continent of Europe have, without exception, introduced into their commercial and industrial systems, within a very few years, the principle of protection. This has been marked by economists of every school. Great Britain alone has remained firm to her doctrine of free-trade. On May 23, 1892, Lord Salisbury, the English Premier, delivered a speech at Hastings, in which he discussed the attitude of Great Britain as to her external trade. The speech, coming from so high an authority, created great excitement among English Conservatives, drew a wide range of comment from the newspapers of the world, and seemed to presage a new departure in the applied economics of the realm.

Its points, bearing on external trade, were:—

"After all, this little island lives as a trading island. We could not produce in foodstuffs enough to sustain the population that lives in this island, and it is only by the great industries which exist here, and which find markets in foreign countries, that we are able to maintain the vast population by which this island is inhabited.

"But a danger is growing up. Forty or fifty years ago everybody believed that free-trade had conquered the world, and they prophesied that every nation would follow the example of England and give itself up to absolute free-trade.

"The results are not exactly what they prophesied, but the more adverse the results were, the more the devoted prophets of free-trade declared that all would come aright at last.

"The worse the tariffs of foreign countries became the more confident were the prophecies of an early victory, but we see now, after many years experience that explain it,

HON. JAMES K. JONES.

Born in Marshall co., Miss., Sept. 29, 1839; educated in classics and law; served in Confederate army; a planter till 1873; began law practice at Washington, Arkansas, and elected to State Senate in 1873; re-elected in 1877, and became President of the body; elected, as Democrat, to 47th, 48th and 49th Congresses; elected to U. S. Senate in 1884; re-elected in 1890; term expires March 3, 1897; member of Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Indian Affairs, Interstate Commerce, Irrigation and Territories.

how many foreign nations are raising, one after another, a wall—a brazen wall of protection—around their shores which excludes us from their markets, and, so far as they are concerned, do their best to kill our trade, and this state of things does not get better. On the contrary, it constantly seems to get worse.

"Now, of course, if I utter a word with reference to free-trade, I shall be accused of being a protectionist, of a desire to overthrow free-trade, and all the other crimes which an ingenious imagination can attach to a commercial heterodoxy.

"But, nevertheless, I ask you to set yourselves free from all that merely vituperative doctrine and to consider whether the true doctrine of free-trade carries you as far as some of these gentlemen would wish you to go.

"Every true religion has its counterpart in inventions and legends and traditions, which grow upon that religion. The Old Testament had its Canonical books and had also its Talmud and its Mishna, the inventions of rabbinical commentators.

"There are a Mishna and a Talmud constantly growing up. One of the difficulties we have to contend with is the strange and unreasonable doctrine which these rabbis have imposed upon us.

"If we look abroad into the world we will see it. In the office which I have the honor to hold I am obliged to see a great deal of it.

"We live in an age of a war of tariffs. Every nation is trying how it can, by agreement with its neighbor, get the greatest possible protection for its own industries, and at the same time the greatest possible access to the markets of its neighbors.

"This kind of negotiation is continually going on. It

has been going on for the last year and a half with great activity.

"I want to point out to you that what I observe is that while A is very anxious to get a favor of B, and B is anxious to get a favor of C, nobody cares two straws about getting the commercial favor of Great Britain.

"What is the reason of that? It is that in this great battle Great Britain has deliberately stripped herself of the armor and the weapons by which the battle has to be fought.

"You cannot do business in this world of evil and suffering on those terms. If you go to market, you must bring money with you. If you fight, you must fight with the weapons with which those you have to contend against are fighting.

"The weapon with which they all fight is admission to their own markets, that is to say, A says to B: 'If you will make your duties such that I can sell in your market I will make my duties such that you can sell in my market.'

"But we begin by saying that we will levy no duties on anybody, and we declare that it would be contrary and disloyal to the glorious and sacred doctrine of free-trade to levy any duty on anybody, for the sake of what we can get by it.

"It may be noble, but it is not business.

"On those terms you will get nothing, and I am sorry to have to tell you that you are practically getting nothing.

"The opinion of this country, as stated by its authorized exponents, has been opposed by what is called a retaliatory policy.

"We, as the government of the country, have laid it down for ourselves as a strict rule from which there is no departure, and we are bound not to alter the traditional

policy of the country unless we are convinced that a large majority of the country is with us, because in these foreign affairs consistency of policy is beyond all things unnecessary.

"But, though that is the case, still if I may aspire to fill the office of a councillor to the public mind, I should ask you to form your own opinions without a reference to traditions or denunciations, not to care two straws whether you are orthodox or not, but to form your opinions according to the dictates of common sense—I would impress upon you that if you intend in this conflict of commercial treaties to hold your own you must be prepared, if need be, to inflict upon the nations which injure you the penalty which is in your hands, that of refusing them access to your markets.

"The power we have most reason to complain of is the United States, and what we want the United States to furnish us with mostly are articles of food essential to the feeding of the people and raw materials necessary to our manufacturers, and we cannot exclude one or the other without serious injury to ourselves.

"Now, I am not in the least prepared, for the sake of wounding other nations, to inflict any dangerous or serious wound upon ourselves.

"We must confine ourselves, at least for the present, to those subjects on which we should not suffer very much, whether the importation continued or diminished.

"But what I complain about of the rabbis of whom I have just spoken is, that they confuse this vital point. They say that everything must be given to the consumer. Well, if the consumer is the man who maintains the industries of the country or is the people at large, I agree with the rabbis.

"You cannot raise the price of food or of raw material, but there is an enormous mass of other articles of importation from other countries besides the United States which are

mere matters of luxurious consumption, and if it is a question of wine or silk or spirits or gloves or lace, I should not in the least shrink from diminishing the consumption and interfering with the comfort of the excellent people who consume these articles of luxury, for the purpose of maintaining our rights in this commercial war, and of insisting on our right of access to the markets of our neighbors.

"This is very heterodox doctrine, I know, and I should be excommunicated for maintaining it.

"But, as one's whole duty is to say what he thinks to the people of this country, I am bound to say that our rabbis have carried the matter too far.

"We must distinguish between consumer and consumer, and while jealously preserving the rights of a consumer who is co-extensive with a whole industry, or with the whole people of the country, we may fairly use our power over an importation which merely ministers to luxury in order to maintain our own in this great commercial battle."

AMERICAN IRON AND TIN-PLATE FIGURES.

MANUFACTURES OF IRON.

Imports and exports for first eight months of the three latest fiscal years:

Year.	*Imports.*	*Exports.*
1889–90.....	$26,966,085	$16,735,594
1890–91.....	29,820,502	18,823,384
1891–92.....	16,329,207	20,463,764

For the first time in the history of the country the exports of iron manufactures exceeded the imports in 1891–92, and America practically cut loose from foreign invention in iron and steel.

HON. JOHN E. KENNA.

Born at Valcoulou, Va., April 10, 1848; served in Confederate army; educated at St. Vincent's College; admitted to Charleston bar, June 20, 1870; acquired lucrative practice; elected District Attorney, 1872; elected, 1875, by bar to hold Circuit Courts of Lincoln and Wayne counties; elected, as Democrat, to 45th, 46th and 47th Congresses; elected, as Democrat, to United States Senate for term beginning 1883, and re-elected for term beginning 1889; member of Committees on Commerce, Foreign Relations, Organization of Executive Department and Quadro-Centennial.

TIN-PLATE FIGURES.

From quarterly returns made to Treasury Department:

Duty on tin-plate prior to July 1, 1891.....1 cent per lb.
Duty after July 1, 1891, McKinley Act.....2.2 cents per lb.
Manufactories in United States July 1, 1891.....None.
Manufactories reported to Treasury Department as having started during quarter ending September 3, 1891.....5
Yearly capacity equal to..... 27,000,000 lbs.
Manufactories reported to Treasury Department for quarter ending December 31, 1891.....11
Yearly capacity equal to..... 60,000,000 lbs.
Manufactories reported to Treasury Department for quarter ending March 31, 1892.....19
Yearly capacity equal to.....300,000,000 lbs.
Actual production for above quarter..... 3,000,000 lbs.
Amount of capital invested March 31, 1892..... $3,000,000
Tin-plate imported, 1890.....680,060,925 lbs.
Value of same.....$20,928,150
Cost of a box of tin-plate (108 lbs.) in Liverpool, January 1, 1891 .....$4.23
Additional duty on same after July 1, 1891..... 1.29
Cost of box of tin-plate in Liverpool (108 lbs.) April 1, 1892. 3.02
Importation of tin-plate for 8 months ending Feb. 28, 1891..525,904,757 lbs.
Importation of tin-plate for 8 months ending Feb. 29, 1892..177,114,874 lbs.

HISTORIC REVIEW OF THE SILVER QUESTION.

The use of metal as a medium of exchange and a measure of value has an old and interesting history. The province of money has ever been a conspicuous theme in political economy. Lately in our country all discussion of money has been given a new turn, and been rendered momentous and exciting by the fact that political parties have chosen to divide upon questions of coinage, quantities, kinds and values of our metallic circulating medium, and seek to make them issues in their campaigns.

This has given to what is popularly known as "The Silver Question," or "The Free Coinage Question," a prominence it never had before. It is within the bounds of truth to say that the "Silver Question" quite overshadows the "Tariff Question" in the Fifty-second Congress, and bids fair to divide honors with that question for a considerable time. Next to, and perhaps equal with, the doctrines of Free-Trade and Protection, it concerns the business interests, the life and work, the labor and property, of every man in the country, from the humblest toiler to the largest capitalist. No man who works for daily bread, no man who has a dollar saved, no man who has a house or farm, no man who has his capital in factories, stocks, mortgages, or other securities, ought to be ignorant of a question which so intimately concerns his welfare. It is, perhaps, a matter of regret that a question so purely economic should fall into political channels, but such is the fate of all these great questions under our free system of government, and our

people are seemingly better satisfied with results obtained in their own popular way, than through the media of learned theories and abstruse teachings. In as much they prefer to use their own judgments and to abide by their own verdicts, the obligation is imposed on them of informing themselves as far as possible respecting the merits of this question, and all questions that similarly affect them.

WHAT IS MONEY?

Says Laveleye: "Money is the substance or substances which custom or the law causes to be employed as the means of payment, the instrument of exchange and the common measure of values."

The difficulty of bartering wares against wares brought into use an intermediate means of effecting the exchange. This means was money, which became an agent of circulation and a vehicle of exchange—the cart for transferring property in an object from one person to another, just as the actual cart transferred the object itself.

Again, money came to be the universal equivalent. When one sells a bushel of wheat for a dollar, the dollar is the equivalent of the wheat. One can, in turn, make the dollar the equivalent of other goods, which he needs more than the wheat or the dollar. Says Adam Smith: "A piece of gold may be considered as an agreement for a certain quantity of goods payable by the tradesmen of the neighborhood."

Still further, money is a common measure or standard of values. Some one has called it "The yardstick of commerce." Length, weight, value, need to be compared with something, in order to subdivide them and turn their parts to use. Hence, a foot is made a standard of long measure, and when we say a stick is twelve feet long, we know ex-

actly how long it is, and all men will know. This is much more definite and satisfactory than to say, the stick is as long as twenty hand-breadths, for some hands are larger than others, and the stick would be longer or shorter, according to each measurer. So, if we say a barrel of flour weighs as much as two pigs, we get but a vague and varying idea of its weight, for pigs differ in size and weight. But when we set up the pound as a standard of weight, and say that a barrel of flour weighs 196 pounds, all men will have a common idea of its weight. It is the same with value. The value of a horse may be equal to five cows, but as cows have one price to-day and another to-morrow, you have selected a very uncertain means of finding the value of a horse. By the use of money as a common valuer, as in the foot or the pound, you get a definite idea of the value of a horse. When you say it is worth one hundred dollars, or a hundred times one dollar—the dollar being the standard or measurer of value—all men fall to the idea, know what a horse is worth.

The foot standard is exactly ascertained and rigidly fixed. The pound standard is also accurately ascertained and rigidly fixed. In attempting to fix a standard for measuring values, great difficulty is encountered, for, unfortunately, the substances used for measuring the values of articles of commerce are themselves merchandise, and subject to variation in value like all goods. The best that can be done, therefore, as to values, is to select as true and invariable a standard of measurement as possible, to watch it closely, and to correct from time to time the expansions and contractions occasioned by commercial heat and cold.

KINDS OF MONEY.

The Siberians used furs as money. The Spartans used

iron. The African uses cloth, salt and cowrie-shells. Cattle held the largest place as money among the ancients and many of our financial and commercial words are derived from old words indicating the early prominence of the flock and herd. The arms of Diomede were valued at nine oxen; those of Glaucus at one hundred oxen. The Franks levied a tribute of oxen on the conquered Saxons. Our word "pecuniary" is the Latin *pecus*, "cattle." Our "fee" is the Saxon *feoh*, cattle.

Metal money was first employed as representing value in cattle. The ox or sheep became its emblem and was stamped on the metal.

As civilization progressed and exchanges became more frequent, gold and silver took the place of all cruder metals and devices, as money.

This was because time and experience had proved their superiority as measurers of value and media of exchange.

They do not deteriorate by keeping.

Their production is limited by scarcity of their ores. This gives great value in proportion to weight, and facilitates handling, transport and hoarding.

The annual losses of the precious metals by wear and tear and by absorption in the arts have so nearly equalled the annual production, as that the excess of production has seldom exceeded the ratio of increase in population and the growing demand for money. Thus the demand and supply being nearly equal, the value of gold and silver remains very stable, as compared with other metals, or other measures of value.

The accumulated stock of the precious metals, estimated in money and ornaments at $10,000,000,000 in the world, tends to lessen variations in value that might be occasioned by diminution or failure of the annual supply.

All civilized nations seek and accept gold and silver as a means of facilitating exchange.

Gold and silver are easily divisible into parts and proportions of given weights and values.

They receive with ease and permanently the impression which distinguishes their weight, size, design and value.

They are readily distinguishable from other metals; gold by its weight, silver by its sound.

THE VALUE OF MONEY.

The purchasing power of money ascertains its value. The pure silver which would have bought eight bushels of wheat during the Middle Ages, would bring only two bushels, after the discovery of America. Therefore, it was said of silver, that it had declined to one-fourth of its previous value.

Supply of an article usually affects its value, but a supply of money involves the quantity in existence and the rapidity of its circulation. A dollar that makes three exchanges a day is worth three dollars that make one exchange a day.

If the demand for money is less than the supply, its value decreases; only we don't say so, but that prices rise. If the demand for money is greater than the supply, its value increases; but we say, that prices fall.

Alterations in the value of money lead to confusion in commercial, legal and economic relations. A decrease in the amount or value of money seriously affects the debtor classes. An increase in the amount or value of money injures the creditor classes.

MONEY SYSTEMS.

The gold and silver that enter into money are not pure, but mixed with alloy, usually copper, to save the coins from

wearing. The quantity of alloy generally introduced is about one-tenth, that is, one part alloy to nine parts of pure metal.

In England, the unit of money, gold or silver, of which the other coins are multiples, is the sovereign or pound; in France, the franc; in Germany, the mark; in Holland, the florin; in the United States, the dollar. The larger coins are generally made a legal tender for debts, without limit. Smaller fractional or subsidiary coins are generally made a legal tender for debts, with a limit as to amount. Still smaller coins, cents, nickels, and such as rank as "token money," are made legal tender for debts of a still smaller amount.

Formerly, monarchs, cities, bishops and nobles claimed the right to coin money, and they frequently abused their right by diminishing the value of the currency, either by reducing the quantity of pure metal in the coins, or by declaring them to have a legal value far beyond their intrinsic value. Solon decreed that the mina should be worth a hundred drachmas instead of seventy-three. Plutarch says of this decree: "In this way, by paying apparently the full value, though really less, those who owed large sums gained considerably, without causing any loss to their creditors." Says Laveleye, "Plutarch here expresses the error which has inspired all issues of depreciated and paper currency. No one seems to lose, because payments are made just as well with coins reduced in value as with the unreduced. What is forgotten is that prices rise in proportion as the unit of money loses its value."

At the present time the right of coinage is, as a rule, reserved by the sovereign State, and is jealously guarded. In most countries the coining of the standard coin is free.

In France, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium, which countries agreed, in 1863, to form the Latin Monetary Union,

all gold coins and five-franc pieces are accepted as standard. The minor silver coins are a legal tender for only small debts, and the mints cannot issue them to a greater extent than the value of six francs for each inhabitant. The system of the Latin Union is the double standard or bi-metallic system; that is, it permits the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver pieces, to each of which it gives legal currency, or the right to be accepted in all payments. It has, however, been compelled to modify this system to suit circumstances.

Countries whose system is "single standard or mono-metallic," as in England, where it is gold, and in Austria, where it is silver, accord free and unlimited coinage and legal-tender quality only to the metal they fix as the standard. The mono-metallic system is the simpler, as to relation of value between coins of different denominations; but as to relation of value between money and goods, the bi-metallic system is more sensitive and, consequently, exact.

In 1558 Thomas Gresham, one of the councillors of Queen Elizabeth, demonstrated that the money which has the less value will drive from circulation the money which has the greater value. This is known in monetary science as "GRESHAM'S LAW."

In 1717 Sir Isaac Newton showed that a means of obviating the ill effects of "Gresham's Law" existed, by fixing the relation of value between gold and silver the same in all countries. In later times attempts have been made to do this by means of International Monetary Congresses. Attempts to establish a fixed relation of value between gold and silver by single countries have not proved satisfactory. Economists are by no means agreed as to which metal, gold or silver, is preferable as a standard. That the largest number of countries, certainly the largest commercial coun-

HON. ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

Born in Springfield, Ill., August 1, 1843; prepared for college at Exeter; entered Harvard, 1864; entered Harvard Law School, but became aide, with rank of Captain, on General Grant's staff; served till end of war; admitted to bar and practiced in Chicago till 1881; entered Garfield's Cabinet as Secretary of War, 1881; retained same under Arthur; prominently mentioned for the Presidency before National Republican Convention in 1884; but refused the use of his name so long as President Arthur was in the field; resumed practice of profession, 1885; again mentioned for Presidency in 1888; selected as Minister to England by President Harrison.

tries, adopt gold as the standard metal, implies some powerful reason for it; but it by no means disproves the theory that gold itself shifts in value like silver and probably quite as much. Indeed, not a few aver that much of what appears to be a shift in the value of silver is really a shift in the value of gold, with which the silver is compared. They also say that in the very nature of things silver is a metal of more stable value than gold, because its production comes from deep mines, with costly machinery, and an annual output which cannot be increased except at great expense, nor lessened without great loss; whereas the product of gold, most of which comes from auriferous sands, may increase or diminish very greatly in a short space of time.

BEGINNING OF AMERICAN COINAGE.

Immediately after the peace of 1783, and while the Articles of Confederation constituted our only bonds of government, some of the prominent patriots, notably Morris, Jefferson and Hamilton, began agitation looking to the establishment of an American Mint. Naturally the character of the proposed mintage came under discussion. This was the "Coinage Question" of that day. It was neither political nor bitter as at present, but it was none the less earnest, and involved many of the points now under discussion.

Great respect was paid to the views of Morris, who, as Superintendent of Finance, was well qualified to speak upon the character of the mintage. He reached the conclusion that in as much as the relative values of gold and silver were continually changing, there could be no ratio established between them which would prove stable and satisfactory for purposes of law. Therefore, the only way out of the difficulty, as he reasoned, was for the government to

adopt silver alone as its metallic money, and proceed to coin it. He was a silver mono-metallist.

On account of Hamilton's mastery of finance, his views were equally courted. During the discussions of the subject, which preceded the adoption of the Constitution in 1787, Hamilton made it plain that he was a mono-metallist like Morris, but recognizing the greater value of gold, its higher place among commercial nations and its lesser liability to sudden and extreme fluctuation in price, he preferred it to silver as the metallic standard. Pending these discussions the Confederation came to an end, and the new Constitution appeared (1787) with its provisions as to money and coinage:—The Congress shall have power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and fix the standard of weights and measures." Art. I.; Sec. 8. Again, "No State shall coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." Art. I.; Sec. 10.

Here then was recognition of two metals as money, and provision for a bi-metallic currency, should such a result be deemed wise. The matter of establishing a mint came up as one of the earliest and most important under the new Constitution. Hamilton made it the subject of a full and able report to Congress in 1791. In this report he adhered to his views that, in the abstract, a mono-metallic standard would be best, but that such standard should be gold in preference to silver. However, reasoning on the line of expediency, he feared that the adoption of a single standard would tend to limit the amount of the circulating medium, a result by no means desirable, in the infant and experimental stage of the Government. Therefore, he concluded that a double standard would be best in practice, and as a policy sufficiently permanent to warrant the forms of law.

His reasons and conclusions proved to be acceptable to the Congress, but there was great diversity of opinion respecting the question of the relative value of the two metals. What should be the fixed ratio between gold and silver? In fixing such ratio, should the price, or purchasing power, of gold at home or abroad be taken? It was finally agreed that American values were alone to be considered, and that the commercial ratio between gold and silver should be as one is to fifteen. One ounce of gold was to be taken as worth fifteen times as much as one ounce of silver.

OUR FIRST COINAGE ACT.

The first Act of Congress relating to coinage was passed April 2, 1792, and was entitled "An Act establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the United States." This Act provided for the coinage of eagles, half-eagles and quarter-eagles of gold, and for "dollars or units," half-dollars and quarter-dollars, dimes and half-dimes of silver. The coinage of cents and half-cents of copper was also provided for. The value of each eagle was fixed as "ten dollars or units, and to contain 247 grains and four-eighths of a grain of pure or 270 grains of standard gold." The half and quarter-eagles bore respectively an exact proportion to the eagle in value, weight and fineness.

The dollar, or unit, was thus provided for:—"Dollars or units—each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar, as the same is now current, and to contain 371 grains and four-sixteenths of a grain of pure, or 416 grains of standard silver." The fractional silver coins contained exactly one-half, one-fourth and one-tenth, respectively, of the quantity of fine silver and alloy prescribed for the dollar. The ideal unit for years prior and subsequent to the establishment of the Mint was the pound sterling, yet the Spanish dollar,

during that early period, was the money of commerce and the practical monetary unit, and it was the general custom to express in contracts that payment should be made in Spanish milled dollars. The advocates of silver attach great importance to the expression, "dollars or units," and to the fact that the established unit was the silver dollar. Upon this is based their claim that the silver dollar is the unit of our monetary system, and that the gold coinage is based upon that unit. Each eagle is "to be of the value of $10 or units," and it is declared that the dollar or unit shall be of silver.

This Act provided for the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver, and that both coins should be a legal tender. Thus Section 14 reads:

"It shall be lawful for any person or persons to bring to the said Mint gold and silver bullion in order to their being coined, and that the bullion so brought shall be assayed and coined free of expense to the person or persons by whom the same shall have been brought."

Free coinage in this sense does not mean that the mint did its work for nothing. It charged one-half per cent. to indemnify it for the time expended in assaying and coining the bullion.

Section 16 of the Act contained the legal tender clause, making the coins of both metals, even including the fractional silver coins, a legal tender.

A gold dollar, or rather a dollar in gold, at the ratio fixed in the above Act, would contain 24.75 grains of gold. Multiply this by 15 (for there must be fifteen times as much silver in a dollar) and you have 371.25 grains, as the quantity of fine silver for the silver dollar. This ratio was not quite that which prevailed at the time in Europe, the ratio there being about 15½ to 1. Our Coinage Act, therefore,

HON. JOHN LIND.

Born at Ulm, Sweden, March 25, 1854; resided in Minnesota since 1868; educated at public schools; studied law and was admitted to bar, 1877; rose to prominence in his profession; elected, as a Republican, to 50th, 51st and 52d Congresses, to represent Second Minnesota District, being the only straight Republican elected to Congress in the State during the elections of 1890; an industrious, conscientious and popular member, serving on Inter-State and Foreign Commerce Committee, Committee on Pacific Railroads and Enrolled Bills.

put too low a commercial value on gold. It was worth more as bullion in the markets of the world than in the shape of one of our coins. There was, therefore, little or no inducement for any one to take gold bullion or gold plate to the mint to get it coined into gold money, for the utmost they could get for it would be coin of gold equal to fifteen times its weight in silver. In Europe the same weight of gold would command fifteen and a half times its weight of silver. Not only was there no inducement to sell gold to the mint for purpose of coinage, but even what was coined followed to a great extent the law of a commercial commodity, and was retired as something more worthy to hold than the cheaper metal, silver, which measured its value in a popular sense, or else it sought, even as gold coin, the market abroad, where one part of gold commanded fifteen and a half parts of silver.

In those early times we were not in a position as a nation to impress a commercial value on metals used as coin. The law fixed a ratio. The mint impressed the law on the coins. After that they followed largely the higher and more arbitrary laws of commerce and of nations. They were in the markets of the world and subject to their fluctuations. And this was true, even though we had great need for metallic money, as all new countries have where population is sparse, where intercommunication is slow and irregular, and where credit has not yet learned to lend its conveniences to trade.

In spite of the ratio of 15 to 1, established for our bimetallic currency by the Act of 1792, the foreign, or commercial, ratio forced itself upon us, and for forty-two years, that is from 1792 to 1834, the value of silver, as compared with gold, fluctuated, often rising nearly to 16 to 1, but never falling to 15 to 1. It is clear, then, that silver was

cheaper than gold, and silver currency than gold currency, which fact, as those who oppose the free coinage of silver aver, proved the truth of Gresham's law, mentioned above, that where two metals are made a legal tender and given free coinage at a fixed ratio of value, the cheaper metal will circulate to the exclusion of the dearer.

To illustrate: A yard is 36 inches, but if a merchant finds that if, within law, he can satisfy his customers with a yard of 35½ inches, he will prefer the shorter standard of measure. Sixteen ounces make a pound avoirdupois, but if he can, within law, satisfy his customers with fifteen ounces, he will do so. An ounce of gold is worth in the markets 15½ ounces of silver; he will not use the gold, but the legal equivalent of the gold, or the 15½ ounces of silver, namely, the 15 ounces which he finds in the shape of silver coin, and a legal tender.

This presumes that the ounce of gold set up as the standard of value is fixed, like the yard, as a standard of measure and the pound as a standard of weight. Commercial custom and monetary science incline more and more to this presumption, and as a fact gold is made to so largely measure the value of silver as well as all other commodities, among enlightened nations, as that it performs the functions of a yard stick as to lengths or a pound weight as to weights.

But here the advocates of bi-metallism and free coinage say that gold is not in itself an unchangeable measure of value, as the yard stick is of length and the pound weight is of weight. It has its own fluctuations just as silver has, though perhaps not to the same extent. It is, therefore, not a true measure of value for silver. The Hon. Marcus A. Smith, of Arizona, in his recent speech upon "The free Coinage of Silver," thus treats of this question of gold

measurements and of the principle underlying "Gresham's Law:"

"The inflexible and unchangeable value, which is often attributed to gold coin, is simply the arbitrary value of a standard only measured by itself. This is the value to which the quoted words plainly apply. Governments can no more give fixed commodities, or comparative value, to gold and silver than they can arrest the motion of the stars. David Hume, John Locke, Adam Smith, and all the older economic writers agree that gold and silver both fluctuate in value.

"Profs. Jevons and Walker, more recent authorities, show by comparative tables of statistics that between 1789 and 1809 gold fell 46 per cent.; that between 1809 and 1849 it arose 145 per cent., and that within twenty years after the latter date it fell 20 per cent. It is estimated that during the past eighteen years gold has again risen 30 per cent. Jevons says that—

"'In respect to steadiness of values the metals are probably less satisfactory, regarded as a standard of value, than many other commodities, such as corn.'

"The discovery of new mines, the exhaustion of the old mines, the arbitrary adoption of the metals by governments for money purposes or their demonetization and disuse for such purposes, and the greater or less demand for them for artistic and mechanical uses, are accidents and circumstances which contribute to fluctuation in their value. Usefulness or utility gives desirability. This desirability leads to use, and whether the use be by governments or individuals, or both, for money or in the arts, or for both, it creates the demand which, in connection with supply, gives exchange value.

"The law, custom, or usage, that rendered the fabled

nugget of copper a proper tender by the mummy as a fee to Charon, gave it its monetary value for that purpose. It was the tribal law, custom, or usage which ordained the use of silver as money, that gave to the 400 shekels of silver which Abraham tendered to Ephron the Hittite, and 'current money with the merchants,' its monetary value; it was the law, custom, or usage which decreed the use of silver as money, that gave to the twenty pieces of silver for which Joseph was sold into slavery, and the thirty pieces of silver for which the gentle Nazarene was betrayed to his death, their monetary value.

"In each instance, even on the principles of barter, the use of silver, for other purposes than money, was a factor, contributing to its monetary value, and not by itself creating it. Where barter is applied the sum total of usage gives to the metals what is termed the monetary value, but what, more properly speaking, is only commercial value. Crusoe, on his desert isle, sitting among his sacks of gold, is the synonym of poverty until he finds the grain of wheat which gives promise of food and life. That gold had no commercial value. The grain of wheat was worth immeasurably more than all of it. But let civilized governments, or even barbarous tribes find it, and at once its use for the purposes of money makes it command a thousand times its weight in wheat.

"So far from the value of given articles 'for other purposes' being the sole cause of their monetary value, the former is not always even co-existent with and equal to the latter. Was it the 'value for other purposes' of the iron in the coins of Sparta, under Lycurgus, that gave to those coins their monetary value? Was it the value of the leather 'for other purposes' that gave to the money of Carthage its monetary value? Was it its 'value for other pur-

Hon. Calvin S. Brice.

Born at Denmark, Ohio, September 17, 1845; educated at Miami University; served in Union army, as Captain of Company E, 108th Regiment Ohio Volunteers; studied law at University of Michigan; admitted to practice, 1866; Presidential elector, on Democratic ticket, 1870 and 1884; Delegate-at-Large for Ohio to St. Louis National Democratic Convention, 1888; member of Democratic National Campaign Committee, and Chairman of same for campaign of 1888 and since; elected to United States Senate as Democrat, January, 1890; member of Committees on Irrigation, Pensions, Post Offices and Post Roads, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Revolutionary Claims.

poses' that gave to the money made in China in the thirteenth century from the bark of the mulberry tree its monetary value? Was it its 'value for other purposes' that gave value to the wampum of the American Indians? Was it their 'value for other purposes' tl at gave to the glass coin of Arabia, the brass coins of Rome, the pasteboard bills of Holland, the tenpenny nails of Scotland, the musket-balls of Massachusetts, and the cocoa-beans of Mexico, their monetary value?

"Is it its value for other purposes that gives to the $800,000,000 of silver coin in France to-day its monetary value? Is it its value for other purposes that gives to our $400,000,000 of standard silver coin and the millions more of subsidiary and minor coin their monetary value? The commercial value of the silver in the coin of France is $170,000,000 less than its monetary value, and in the United States nearly $100,000,000 less. How obvious, therefore, it is that governments not only by the use of the metals as money add to their commercial value, but at times confer a monetary value beyond and independent of the commercial value?

"Much is said about one kind of money driving another kind out of circulation. The Gresham Law is simply a law of displacement. It applies to all articles of commerce as well as to money. The self-binder displaces the sickle, and the railway train displaces the stage-coach. But the theory that the scarcest money is the best money is on par with the idea that the smallest crop is the best crop. Gold and silver, like other commodities, go where the highest prices are offered, whether the offer comes from individuals or governments. Monetary value is national; commercial value is cosmopolitan. The single-standard metal, whether it be gold or silver, is alternately money and commodity

instrument and article of commerce. Economic law is inexorable.

"England adopted the single-standard in 1819, and Germany, the Latin Union, and minor European states, at a later day. Since 1819 the Bank of England has suspended specie payment nearly a dozen times, the land-owners of England have been reduced from 165,000 to less than 30,000. Her $3,500,000,000 national debt is as large as at the close of the Napoleonic wars, yet bread riots have periodically startled her cities and agitated her statesmen. But two years ago, when heavy drafts were made on her gold by Russia, her Barings touched the borders of insolvency, and, in spite of all the assistance of the Bank of England, plunged several leading New York banks into ruin and carried our country to the edge of panic and financial disaster, Goschen, the chancellor of the British Exchequer, announced to Parliament that the perils attending the increasing competition for gold made a consideration of the return to bi-metallism advisable.

"The rule or law of Sir Thomas Gresham did not apply to gold and silver. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, I think it was, the coin in circulation was found to be degraded by clipping and general short weight. It was found that as long as any clipped or abraded piece of silver would buy as much as a full-weight piece of silver, the heavy piece was kept out of commerce and used in the arts, and the spurious piece did the trade of the realm. The light displaced the heavy in commerce, or had such tendency, and this is all that the Gresham law meant."

However these things may be in theory, in fact our early gold coins, being worth more, when compared with silver, than the value which was stamped upon them, began to depart either from circulation or from the country entirely.

This movement began almost simultaneously with the passage of our first Coinage Act. It was very perceptible by 1810, and continued until 1834. In all that time there were less than $12,000,000 in gold coined, a large per cent. of which was lost entirely to the country by export. By 1814 the mintage of gold coins had fallen to $77,000. In 1815 it fell to $3,000. In 1816 the coinage of gold amounted to nothing. After 1819 gold disappeared as a circulating medium in the United States.

During this time (1792–1834) there were only 1,439,417 silver dollars coined, and none of these were coined after 1805. The coinage of the silver dollar was in all probability discouraged by the fact that gold was seen to be disappearing, and with the hope that a scarcity of silver dollars might enhance their value. Or, their coinage may have ceased by reason of the fact that the foreign silver coins of that denomination were ample for trade purposes, the bulk of our metallic currency being at that time of foreign make. The mint was not, however, idle. It was busy on fractional or subsidiary coins. By 1834 it had coined $50,000,000 of silver half dollars, and a proportion of lesser coins, which, with the large per cent. of foreign subsidiary coins, furnished an ample minor currency.

This currency condition was far from satisfactory. Bimetallism was not proving the theories of its authors. The question of a change began to be mooted. Some few alterations were made in the Coinage Act from time to time, but the original Act remained in all its essential features up till 1834.

By 1831 Hon. Campbell P. White, an authority on such matters, had reached the conclusion that a system which sought to regulate the standard of value in both gold and silver had inherent and incurable defects. He thought it

had been clearly ascertained by experience that it was impossible to maintain both metals in concurrent, simultaneous and promiscuous circulation.

In 1832 a Committee on Coinage reported that it could not find "that both metals have ever circulated simultaneously, concurrently and indiscriminately in any country where there were banks or money dealers; and they entertain the conviction that the nearest approach to an invariable standard is its establishment in one metal, which metal shall compose exclusively the currency of large payments."

The time had now come for a substantial change in the Coinage Act of 1792. What was chiefly apparent to all in 1834 was the fact that the ratio between gold and silver, established by that Act, was no longer, if it had ever been, correct. It undervalued gold. But there was no general departure, so far as the debates show, from the bi-metallic idea. Statesmen still preferred to struggle with the intricate problem of finding a ratio between gold and silver which would prove to be the ratio of commerce.

The Director of the Mint, in his report to the Congress for the year 1833, said that the "new coined gold frequently remains in the mint uncalled for, though ready for delivery, until the day arrives for a packet to sail for Europe." And he concluded that the entire coinage of gold in the future, amounting to perhaps $2,000,000 annually, would be exported, unless there was a reform of the gold standard.

In his advocacy of a change in the ratio between gold and silver, Hon. Thomas H. Benton, in a speech delivered in the Senate in 1834, said: "The false valuation put upon gold has rendered the mint of the United States, so far as the gold coinage is concerned, a most ridiculous and absurd institution. It has coined, and that at large expense to the United States, 2,262,177 pieces of gold, valued at $11,852,820, and

HON. DAVID B. CULBERSON.

Born in Troup co., Ga., September 29, 1830; educated at Brownwood; studied law and moved to Texas, 1856; elected to State Legislature, 1859; served in Confederate army throughout war; elected to State Legislature, 1864; elected, as a Democrat, to 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st and 52d Congresses, to represent Fourth Texas District, composed of eleven counties; an earnest and popular member, admired by a large constituency; active on the floor as debater and parliamentarian; Chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

HON. JAMES MCMILLAN.

Born at Hamilton, Ont., May 12, 1838; prepared for College, but entered business in Detroit, 1855; established Michigan Car Company, 1863; member and chairman of Republican State Central Committee, 1876, 1886, 1890; President of Detroit Park Commission and Board of Estimates; Republican Presidential Elector, 1884; elected to United States Senate, as Republican, for term beginning March 4, 1889; an industrious, practical member, whose opinions command respect; Chairman of Committee on District of Columbia and member of Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Education and Labor, and Post Offices and Post Roads.

where are the pieces now? Not one of them to be seen! All sold and exported! To enable the friends of gold to go to work at the right place to effect the recovery of that precious metal which their fathers once possessed—which the subjects of European kings now possess—which the citizens of the young Republics of the south all possess—which even the free negroes of San Domingo possess—but which the yeomanry of this America have been deprived of for more than twenty years, and will be deprived of forever unless they discover the cause of the evil, and apply the remedy to the root."

Under these auspices the Coinage Act of June 28, 1834, was passed. By this Act the pure gold in the eagle was reduced from 247½ grains to 232 grains, and a corresponding reduction was made in the half eagles and quarter eagles. The alloy was changed from 22½ to 26, making the eagle contain 258 grains of standard gold instead of 270 grains. The Act of 1834 made no change in the silver coins. This change in the gold coinage made the ratio nearly 16 to 1, the exact ratio being 16.002 to 1. Why this ratio was established, or, for that matter, why any change at all was made, is difficult to understand, in view of the fact that at that date the commercial ratio between the two metals was 1 to 15.6, which, for convenience, Europe was calling 1 to 15½. The new currency ratio of 1 to 16 was as far removed from the commercial ratio of 1 to 15½ as was the old currency ratio of 1 to 15. Only now the boot was on the other foot. By the Act of 1792 gold was undervalued and silver overvalued. By the Act of 1834 the matter was reversed, and gold was overvalued and silver undervalued. Or considering the bi-metallic views of the framers of these acts, the result of the Act of 1792 was to overvalue silver as to gold; and the effect of the Act of 1834 was to overvalue gold

as to silver. In their practical workings these Acts quite threw their framers from their bi-metallic base, and inasmuch as in the Act of 1792 they attempted to exalt silver at the expense of gold, they became, according to the laws laid down in economics, silver monometallists. So, inasmuch as in the Act of 1834 they sought to exalt gold at the expense of silver, they became gold monometallists. There were not wanting those who sounded the note of warning that the Act of 1834 would but repeat that of 1792, in the respect that cheap gold would drive out the silver circulation just as cheap silver had driven out the gold circulation.

The Act of 1834 proved very unsatisfactory in its operation. Silver fluctuated, in a commercial sense, for years, but it did not fall in price to the ratio of 16 to 1 of gold. Consequently silver became worth more, in relation to gold, as bullion or plate than as coin, and it began to disappear, there being no inducement to coin it. After 1840, sight of a silver dollar was rare, and as a coin, it played no conspicuous part in our circulation, for very many years. Monometallists regard the effects of the Act of 1834 as another striking vindication of the truth of "Gresham's Law," that the cheaper money invariably drives the dearer from circulation.

ACT OF 1837.

Dissatisfaction with the Act of 1834 led to that of January 18, 1837, which was, in its form, a supplement to that of 1834, yet a complete revision of the laws of mintage, and was in fact known as "The Mint Act of 1837." This Act changed the standard of both gold and silver coins and the ratio between the metals. The standard for gold and silver coins was fixed at .900 fine, that is, 900 parts of pure metal to 100 parts of alloy. This increased the pure gold in the dollar from 23.20 to 23.22 grains, and fixed the ratio between

the two metals at 15.98 to 1. The silver dollar was changed from 416 grains of standard silver to 412½ grains, and the fractional coins were made to correspond in exact proportion. To make the alloy equal to one-tenth of the weight of the coin, it was necessary to add the small fraction of two-tenths of one grain of gold to the eagle. No change, however, was made in the quantity of pure silver contained in the dollar. That remained at 371¼ grains, and it continues at that figure. This Act also provided that "gold and silver bullion brought to the mint for coinage shall be received and coined by the proper officers for the benefit of the depositor." This provision for coinage was taken from the previous Acts, and continued the coinage of the two metals upon the same footing. The fact that there was no change in the quantity of silver in the dollar has given origin and currency to the phrase "Dollar of the Fathers," or the more alliterative and catchy term "Dollar of the Daddies."

What is regarded as a serious error in all the Coinage Acts up to and including that of 1837 was the fact that the minor coins had been made to contain the exact proportion of silver contained in the dollar. They, therefore, paid the penalty visited on the silver dollar. They shrank from circulation, or left the country, and this became particularly manifest after the inequality between the production of gold and silver in this country set in with the discovery of gold in California.

Prior to this discovery the world's production of gold and silver was nearly equal, the annual average of gold production between 1841 and 1851 being about $38,000,000, and that of silver about $34,000,000. But from 1849 to 1851 the world seems to have poured forth its treasures of gold with unparalleled liberality. California, Russia and Australia contributed a new and unprecedented output of gold.

In the five years, from 1851 to 1855, the world's production of gold leaped from $38,000,000 to $140,000,000 annually, while in those years the production of silver only increased from $34,000,000 to $40,000,000 annually. The equality between the two products prior to 1849 did not serve to materially affect their commercial ratio, but the inequality after that year greatly affected it, by giving a still higher value to silver. This fact, co-operating with the effect of the Coinage Act, enhanced the difficulty already spoken of with the circulation of silver coins of every denomination. "There is," said Mr. Dunham in Congress in 1853, "a constant stimulant to gather up every silver coin and send it to market as bullion, to be exchanged for gold, and the result is, the country is almost devoid of small change for the ordinary small transactions, and what we have is of a depreciated character."

The commercial ratio in Europe being about 15¼ to 1, silver coins were worth three per cent. more for export than our gold coins; that is, they were worth three per cent. more as bullion than as money. When it became apparent that the country was thus being depleted of its change, agitation set in for a remedy.

COINAGE ACT OF 1849.

The Coinage Act of March 3, 1849, was a provision for a fuller and larger mintage of gold, whose production bade fair to be greatly increased in this country owing to developments in California. It authorized the coinage of double eagles, and also of gold dollars. "Double eagles should each be of the value of twenty dollars, or units, and gold dollars should each be of the value of one dollar, or unit, these coins to be uniform in all respects to the standard for gold coins now established by law."

HON. JOHN R. MCPHERSON.

Born at Dorchester, N. H., October 9, 1834; academically educated; learned locomotive building at Manchester, N. H.; moved to New Jersey to engage in Railway business; largely interested in same; President of First National Bank, Long Branch; member of New Jersey Legislature (H. R.), 1878–80; delegate to Democratic National Convention, 1880; eletced as Democrat to United States Senate for term March 4, 1887; prominent in party and national affairs, and a leader in his State; Chairman of Select Committee on Potomac River Front, and member of Committee on Finance, Immigration and Naval Affairs.

It was not until the Act of 1853 that the coinage of three dollar gold pieces was authorized, "of the value of three dollars, or units, conformable in all respects to the standard gold coins now authorized by law." The word "dollar or unit" was used in all the Coinage Acts to describe the value of the gold coins prior to 1873.

COINAGE ACT OF 1853.

This Act is significant in our monetary history as being the first which recognized the difficulty of maintaining a perfect bi-metallic standard, and the first which contained a step toward the demonetization of silver. It was passed in February, 1853, and it reduced the weight of the half dollar from 206¼ grains of standard silver to 192 grains of the same. All the smaller coins were reduced in proportion. At the same time the full legal tender quality was removed from these subsidiary coins, and they became no longer a legal tender for sums exceeding five dollars. This provision has not since been removed. Again, it was provided that the bullion for the coinage of fractional silver should be purchased directly by the government, or by the Director of the Mint on account of the government, and that the gain arising from the coinage thereof should be credited to the Mint. This was a blow at the "free and unlimited coinage" of the subsidiary coins. By this reduction of the amount of silver in the fractional coins to the extent of about seven per cent., all inducement to melt them up or sell them as bullion was removed; for, although the silver dollar still remained at from three to three and a half per cent. above the gold dollar in value, the seven per cent. reduction in the commercial value of the fractional coins brought them three to three and a half per cent. below the value of gold; quite enough of depreciation to save them to the circulation.

It must be remarked of the period which led to, embraced and immediately followed the Coinage Act of 1853, that it was a period in which there was hardly any coinage of silver dollars, and practically no circulation of them. In 1850 only $47,500 silver dollars were coined; in 1851, $1,300; in 1852, $1,100. All attention was paid to the coinage of gold, the total coinage of which, in 1852, was $56,000,000, fully $2,000,000 of which was in gold dollars.

The framers of the Act of 1853 paid no attention to the fact that our silver production from 1851 to 1855 was about $400,000 per year. They saw only the large gold production of over $60,000,000 per year, and the spirit of the Act was to take advantage of the opportunity to establish, as far as possible, a single currency standard of gold. True, they did not interfere with the silver dollar. There was no need to. None were being coined. None were in circulation.

FROM 1853 TO 1873.

This period is marvellous in the history of metallic money and monetary systems at home and abroad. The world's production of gold from 1850 to 1870 was $2,725,000,000, or five times as much as in the preceding twenty years, and quite as much as during the entire period from the discovery of America to the discovery of gold in California.

The commercial world became alarmed at these figures, fearing a general derangement of values. That the commercial value of gold was decreasing was manifest from the increase in the price of standard commodities all the world over. Theories arose in all directions as to remedies. Some French economists thought it an excellent time to demonetize gold, and establish a single silver standard. Others thought the time opportune to establish the principle of bimetallism, provided the several commercial nations could be

brought to give common consent. France, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium formed what was called "The Latin Monetary Union" in 1863, based on bi-metallism. But in 1867 was held the "International Monetary Conference," at Paris, in which it was laid down that the adoption of a single gold standard was a principle necessary to universal coinage.

Following this, in 1871, came the defeat of France in the Franco-Russian war, and her payment of an immense subsidy in gold to Germany. Immediately, Germany, by a series of Coinage Acts from 1871 to 1873, demonetized her silver and adopted a single gold standard. She stopped coining silver and threw it on the market, selling $140,000,000 worth between 1873 and 1879. This alarmed the countries pledged to a bi-metallic system. The Latin Union closed the mints of France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland, to the coinage of silver, thus confessing their inability to maintain the two metals on an equality and as money. For thirteen years France did not issue a single legal tender silver coin, and on January 1, 1891, the Latin Union went out of existence.

Meanwhile, our own country was passing through the throes of war and the demoralization attending an expanded and strained credit. In 1861 the government became a borrower in gold to the extent of $100,000,000. In February, 1862, it passed the "Legal Tender Act," under which $150,000,000 in "Greenbacks" were issued as legal tenders. At once gold jumped to a premium. The government's promises to pay were so much cheaper and inferior as a circulating medium, that gold hied away and disappeared as currency.

In July of the same year another issue of $150,000,000 of legal tenders was authorized. Gold rose to a still higher

premium. Even our fractional silver currency, depreciated as it was by the Act of 1853, went to a premium and disappeared with the gold. This made the fractional paper currency necessary. Subsequent uses of government credit in various forms and for war purposes, continued to advance the premium on gold till in July, 1884, it reached 185 per cent. Peace, the ability of the government to pay, as steps toward resumption showed, and final resumption in 1879, mark the decline of gold to par again, or rather the exaltation of the government promise to pay to the gold standard.

THE ACT OF 1873.

This Act has become more famous through subsequent discussions of it, than on account of its intrinsic merits or the debates which attended its passage. It is now "The Odious Demonetization Act of 1873" or "The Conspiracy Against Silver" of that year. The facts connected with its passage hardly support the charge that it was a "trick" played on the advocates of free silver coinage by their opponents. As to the intimation that "its contents were not fully known" or sufficiently known, that is matter personal to the majority which passed it and remote from its merits.

The approaches to no other Coinage Act seem to have been more deliberate and gradual. The original draft of the Act was presented to the Senate as early as April, 1870, by the then Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Geo. S. Boutwell. It had been prepared with great deliberation, and under the supervision of Dr. Linderman, Director of the Mint. It proceeded on the theory that if the American silver dollar were made the equivalent of the five-franc piece of France—France being on a bi-metallic basis, and with a great volume of silver currency—said dollar might become interchangeable

HON. CHARLES F. MANDERSON.

Born in Philadelphia, Pa., February 9, 1837; educated at public schools; studied law in Canton, Ohio, and admitted to bar, 1859; City Solicitor of Canton, 1860; entered Union army, 1861; mustered out as Brigadier-General, 1865; District Attorney of Canton, 1865–1869; moved to Omaho, Nebraska, 1869; acquired high standing in profession; City Attorney for Omaha, 1871 and 1874; choice of both parties as member of Nebraska Constitutional Convention, 1871 and 1874; elected to U. S. Senate, as a Republican, 1882; re-elected in 1888; chosen President *pro tempore* of Senate, April, 1891; Chairman of Committee on Printing, and member of Committees on Indian Affairs, Military Affairs and Rules.

with European coins of like value. The bill, therefore, fixed the weight of the silver dollar at 384 grains standard silver, that being the weight of the five-franc piece.

But as this was really to reduce the ratio between silver and gold to about 14.8 to 1, and as the bill gave to the silver dollar a limited legal tender power, it was not regarded as one which would effect its object and make our silver dollar float all over the world. It, therefore, flitted back and forward between the two houses of Congress for three years, the subject of repeated debates and amendments, the theme of much newspaper discussion, till at length it was passed by the House, with the clause providing for a silver dollar of 384 grains in it. This provision was struck out by the Senate, and what was called the "Trade Dollar" clause was inserted in its stead. This clause provided for a trade dollar of 420 grains standard silver and 378 grains pure silver, and a limit on its legal tender quality to sums of five dollars. The object was to provide a market for our production of silver and to make a dollar which would substitute the old Spanish dollar in the Pacific trade with China and Japan. It was a dollar of commerce and not circulation.

The bill then went to a Committee of Conference between the two Houses, where its final form was agreed upon. It then passed both Houses and became a law February 12, 1873. It provided that the gold coins "shall be a one dollar piece, which, at the standard weight of 25.8 grains, shall be the unit of value," etc.

The gold coins of larger denominations were based upon the one dollar piece. The silver coins were declared to be a trade dollar, etc., and "the weight of the trade dollar shall be 420 grains troy . . . and said coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding

five dollars in any one payment." Thus the standard silver dollar was not only struck from the list of coins, but its substitute was limited in legal tender power and classified with the fractional coins. No change was made in the weight or quality of the gold coins. The important changes made, and which have given rise to so much contention since, were:

1. The gold dollar was made the unit value.
2. The trade was substituted for the standard silver dollar.
3. Silver was deprived of full legal tender power, and limited to payments in sums of five dollars.

No change was made in the minting privilege accorded the two metals, except with reference to fractional coins. Owners of silver were permitted to deposit their bullion at the Mint upon the same terms as owners of gold bullion, so far as trade dollars were concerned. The provision of the Act of 1853, to buy silver bullion on Government account for coining fractional silver, was continued in the Act of 1873, but any owner of silver bullion could "deposit the same at any mint, to be formed into bars or into trade dollars," at a charge not to exceed the actual average cost to the mint. In answering the complaint that the Act of 1873 struck down silver, Mr. Ehrich, of Colorado, says:—

"Silver has been struck down, but not by the bill of 1873, nor by any bill concocted by man. The hand which struck down silver is the hand which will strike us all down in time, the hand which nothing can withstand, the irresistible hand of Nature. Silver has been struck down by the natural forces, by the great law of supply and demand. The yearly average of gold production in the twenty-five years from 1851 to 1875 was $127,000,000. The yearly average product of silver for the same period was $51,000,000. The average annual product of gold for the fifteen years from

1876 to 1890 declined to $108,000,000, a falling off of 15 per cent. The average annual product of silver for the same period increased to $116,000,000, an increase of 127 per cent. There is the whole silver question, and in the face of these facts, it is now impossible for the United States, single handed, with free and unlimited coinage, to bring silver to a parity with gold on any such basis as 16 to 1; it is more impossible than for a thousand men to pick up our great 'Pike's Peak' and transport it bodily to Denver."

ACTS RELATING TO THE TRADE DOLLAR.

By the Act of July 22, 1876, it was provided that "the trade dollar shall not hereafter be a legal tender," and the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to limit the coinage thereof "to such an amount as he may deem sufficient to meet the export demand for the same." By this Act the silver dollar was entirely eliminated from the list of United States coins. Subsequently an Act was passed authorizing the redemption of the outstanding trade dollars at par, and directing their recoinage into standard dollars. Before the passage of this Act, however, considerable loss was sustained by the people through the destruction of the trade dollar as lawful money. Trade dollars to the number of 35,965,924 were issued from the mints, a large proportion of which was sent to China and never returned for redemption.

EXTENT OF COINAGE UNDER ACTS TO 1878.

From the establishment of the mint in 1792, to 1806, the aggregate number of silver dollars coined was only 1,439,417, and from 1806 to 1835 there was no coinage whatever of this piece. In 1836 the number of dollar pieces coined was only 1,000. The two years following coinage of dollars was suspended, but was resumed in 1839, when 300 were issued,

and the coinage was continued until 1873, when the standard silver dollar was supplanted by the trade dollar. The largest annual coinage of standard silver dollars was made in the years 1871 and 1872, when it was $1,117,136 and $1,118,600 respectively, which is equal to nearly two-fifths of the aggregate of standard silver dollars coined from 1792 to 1873, which aggregate was 7,830,538. The number coined in January and February, 1873, was 296,000, which are included in the above aggregate. The "Demonetization Act" was passed February 12, 1873. It will be seen, therefore, that standard silver dollars were coined down to the passage of the Act which substituted the trade dollar.

COINAGE ACT OF 1878.

Remembering now that for seventeen years prior to 1879 —the date of resumption—neither gold nor silver coins were in circulation in the United States, and that by 1876 silver had fallen to $1.15 per ounce, we are prepared for the era of agitation which began with the introduction of free silver coinage bills into Congress. More than one of these was introduced into the House, but that particular one which was prepared and championed by Mr. Bland, of Missouri, passed the House in the fall of 1877. It became known as the "Bland Bill," and the coinage of silver that followed in its wake became known as the "Bland Dollars."

What was really the "Bland Bill," that is, the bill passed by the House and sent to the Senate, never became a law. The bill provided for the coinage of "silver dollars of the weight of 412½ grains Troy, of standard silver, as provided in the Act of January 18, 1837." . . . "Which coins, together with all silver dollars heretofore coined by the United States of equal weight and fineness, shall be a legal tender, at their nominal value, for all debts and dues, public

HON. WILLIAM H. H. MILLER.

Born in Augusta, N. Y., September 6, 1840; taught school and graduated from Hamilton College, 1861; taught at Maumee, Ohio, one year; entered Union army as Lieutenant in 84th Regiment, Ohio Volunteers; read law and began practice at Fort Wayne, Ind., 1866; moved to Indianapolis (1874) and formed law partnership with General Benj. Harrison; appointed Attorney General by President Harrison, March 5, 1889; a profound constitutional lawyer, an able and conscientious official; was sustained by Supreme Court in his heroic action in celebrated Field-Terry case; distinguished for ability and discretion in handling Behring Sea disputes; conducted the Anti-Lottery case successfully and secured favorable opinion of Supreme Court; secured verdict of highest court in case involving constitutionality of McKinley Act; administration noted for success in dealing with numerous intricate and far-reaching questions; name mentioned in connection with U. S. Supreme bench.

and private, except where otherwise provided by contract. And, any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any United States coinage mint or assay office, to be coined into such dollars for his benefit, upon the same terms and conditions as gold bullion is deposited for coinage under existing laws."

The above is the "Bland Bill" as to its vital points and as it passed the House and appeared in the Senate. It gave free coinage (that is, the same coinage as was given to gold) to any owner of silver bullion who presented it at the mint. It gave unlimited coinage of silver dollars for all silver bullion presented to be coined. It made coinage compulsory. At the ratio existing between silver and gold, it was practical mono-metallism, with silver as the standard and gold at a premium, for the cheaper metal, when coined, invariably takes the volume of circulation and expels the dearer.

The entire character of this bill was changed in the Senate by the Allison amendment and became known as the Bland-Allison Bill. It was then passed by both Houses and became the Bland-Allison Act. As passed, it involved the principle of bi-metallism, for it limited the coinage of the cheaper metal, silver, and undertook to maintain it at par with gold by providing for its redemption.

This Act of February 28th, 1878, restored the silver dollar of 412½ grains to the coinage with full legal tender power, but did not restore silver bullion to the minting privilege which attached to it prior to 1873, and which was in every respect equal to that bestowed upon gold. This Act re-established the "dollar of the fathers," made it legal tender for all debts, "except when otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract," and directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase silver bullion monthly "at the market price thereof, not less than two million dollars' worth per

month nor more than four million dollars' worth per month, and cause the same to be coined monthly, as fast as so purchased, into such dollars." The third section provided that holders of silver dollars "may deposit the same with the Treasurer or any Assistant Treasurer of the United States, in sums not less than ten dollars, and receive therefor certificates of not less than ten dollars each."

It also provided as follows:—

"That immediately after the passage of this Act the President shall invite the governments of the countries composing the Latin Union, so called, and of such other European nations as he may deem advisable, to join the United States in a conference to adopt a common ratio between gold and silver, for the purpose of establishing internationally the use of bimetallic money and securing fixity of relative value between those metals."

This bill represented the same order of thought that pervades the silver agitation of the year 1892. Those who favored the "Greenback" inflation scheme were its ardent supporters. Representatives from the Silver-producing States were strongly in its favor, in the belief that it would enhance the value of their product. While it made the coinage of silver dollars compulsory to the extent of $2,000,000 a month, it placed a limit at $4,000,000. It was thought that this much circulation in silver dollars could be kept at par with gold, but it was soon found that the silver dollars would not circulate. Out of the 12,136 tons of silver purchased by the Government under the Act at a cost of $308,199,262, and out of the 378,166,793 silver dollars coined therefrom under the Act, at an expense of $5,000,000, not more than one out of eight found its way into circulation. For all the benefit to the circulation derived from the Act, the Government might as well have

saved itself the $5,000,000 expense of coinage, and bought and stored the silver in bullion shape. The bullion was always worth more than the coined dollars, and could have been more safely and cheaply cared for in the Treasury vaults than its equivalent in coins. There was no expansion of the currency, as the ardent advocates of the bill fondly hoped. Nor was there an increase in the price of silver bullion, for it declined from $1.12 an ounce in 1879, to 93½ cents an ounce in 1889, or in other words it declined to a point where it stood to gold as 22 to 1 per ounce value, and the value of silver in a silver dollar was only 72 cents.

The silver certificate feature of the Act proved of little practical value, and in the main the Act negatived its own provisions and bred causes for its repeal.

COINAGE ACT OF 1890.

But the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 was not without its uses. It satisfied neither its advocates nor its opponents, and increased rather than decreased the silver agitation. It led directly to and perhaps hastened the passage of the Coinage Act of July 14, 1890.

The bill which became the basis of this Act was prepared on a plan which embraced the views of Secretary of the Treasury Windom. It was submitted to the House, and passed. Its provisions were that any owner of silver bullion, not foreign, could bring it to any mint and obtain for it legal tender treasury notes equal in value to the then market value of the silver, which notes were redeemable either in gold or silver bullion, at its then market value, at the option of the government, or in silver dollars at the holder's option.

This bill was amended in the Senate by inserting a clause providing for free and unlimited coinage. It then went to

a conference committee, where it took the form in which it was passed finally and became a law, July 14, 1890.

As passed, it directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion each month at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for every 371¼ grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchase Treasury Notes of the United States.

Those Treasury Notes are made redeemable in *coin*, gold or silver at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and have full legal tender value. Following this clause is one which reads "It being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

The Act also provided for the actual coinage of 2,000,000 silver dollars a month up until July 1, 1891.

By comparing the two Acts of 1878 and 1890, a better view of the silver controversy may be had. The Act of 1878 made it compulsory on the Government to buy silver bullion to the value of $2,000,000 and not exceeding $4,000,000 monthly, and to coin the same into silver dollars. This was a drain on the Treasury of at least $24,000,000 a year. Holders of silver dollars could exchange them at the Treasury, in sums of ten dollars, for Silver Certificates, the coin remaining in the Treasury for the payment of the Certificate on demand. These Certificates were not given full legal tender value, except for payment of customs and all public dues. This approval of them by the Government confirmed them in popular estimation, and they were as freely accepted by the people as if they had been a full legal tender.

The Act of 1890 made compulsory on the Treasury the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, or 54,000,000

ounces a year. But instead of paying cash for it, payment was to be made in Certificates, called Treasury notes, especially issued, redeemable in gold or silver coin, and clothed with full legal tender power.

It will be seen that payment for the bullion, under the Act of 1878, was in cash; while payment for the bullion under the Act of 1890 was by Certificate, or Treasury note.

There was no compulsory coinage of the bullion under the Act of 1890, except at the rate of $2,000,000 a month up till July 1, 1891. Since that date no silver dollars have been coined, but the bullion purchased is held in the form of fine silver bars. Under the Act, $28,298,455 were coined, and up to April 1, 1891, $89,602,198 in Treasury notes, to pay for bullion deposited, had been issued, $77,605,000 of which were in circulation. At the same date the value of silver bars held by the Treasury was $65,720,000.

On November 1, 1891, the total of silver dollars coined and in existence in the United States, under all the Acts, was $409,475,368, of which $347,339,907 were in the Treasury, and only $62,135,461 outside of the Treasury, or in circulation.

Against this $323,668,401 silver certificates had been issued, $321,142,642 of which were outside of the Treasury and $2,525,759 inside. At the same date the stock of silver bullion in the Treasury was $33,094,234.

The 54,000,000 ounces of silver which the Government is required to buy yearly, and to issue Treasury notes therefor, was the exact output of the silver mines in the United States in 1890. A prime object of the law was, therefore, to furnish a sure market for the product of our mines, at the prevailing price of silver bullion when presented at the Treasury. The Act was a compromise Act, and both mine-owners and advocates of "free and unlimited coinage" ac-

cepted the compromise, as the best that could be done to secure a certain home market for their product, and at the same time increase the circulating medium of the country by just the number of Treasury notes required to purchase 54,000,000 ounces of silver.

Experience has shown that the Act really authorizes the purchase of more than the silver product of American mines, available for coinage purposes, since some three to five million ounces of said product are annually used up in the arts.

It was a general belief, at the time of the passage of the Act of 1890, that its effect would be to increase the market price of silver. Indeed this was confidently prophesied by mine-owners and free-silver-coinage advocates. In anticipation of such rise, silver speculators entered the market and drove silver bullion up to $1.05 an ounce in April, 1890; to $1.08 in May; to $1.15 in August; to $1.21 in September. But now the natural law of supply and demand began to operate against them. They had to contend with the world's market and the world's prices, and no longer with a home market and home prices. The inevitable consequence was that the price of silver broke. The country that could sustain a certain amount of silver coin, as a circulating medium, at par with gold, could not sustain the market value of silver bullion at a point above where the laws of supply and demand, as established by the world at large, chose to fix it.

In October, 1890, silver fell to $1.09 per ounce; in December to $1.06. The decline has been gradual ever since. In December, 1891, silver was worth 94½ cents an ounce, and the fine silver in a dollar was worth only 73 cents. On May 23, 1892, silver sold for 88¼ cents per ounce. Therefore, even with so excellent a customer as the

Government, and one ready to take the entire output of the silver mines of the country, the market price of the product declined. The law of the world proved mightier than the law of the United States.

THE BLAND FREE COINAGE BILL—PROPOSED ACT OF 1892.

Failure of silver producers to realize their expectations under the Act of 1890, a growing desire to relieve depressed industrial and trade conditions, especially in the West and South, and the fact that political conventions in a great many States had given the silver question a party turn, rendered the opening of the Fifty-second Congress an opportune time to seek new coinage legislation. In the Democratic Conventions the planks favored the "free and unlimited coinage of silver;" in the Republican Conventions they favored the "maintainance of silver on a parity with gold."

The Congress opened with an overwhelming Democratic majority, and Mr. Bland, of Missouri, became the recognized leader of his party on the silver question. He introduced into the House what became known as the "Bland Free Silver Coinage Bill," and advocated it with his well-known ability. It drew around it the advocates of "free and unlimited coinage" and became the subject of animated and prolonged debate. When ripe for passage Mr. Bland demanded the previous question, which failed by the very remarkable vote of 148 yeas to 148 nays; there being enough of Eastern Democrats voting with the Republicans to cause this disappointing result to the friends of the measure.

As this vote by no means disposed of the measure finally in the House, or if so, as the question must be a leading one in the National campaign of 1892, it is well to understand the provisions of the bill.

It provides that the unit of value shall be the standard silver dollar as now coined, of 412½ grains standard silver, or the gold dollar of 25.8 grains standard gold.

That the standard gold and silver coins shall be full legal tender.

That any holder of standard gold or silver bullion shall be entitled to have the same minted into coins free of charge, or may deposit said bullion at the mints and receive coin notes therefor, equal in value to the coinage value of the bullion deposited, the bullion thereupon to become the property of the government.

That the coin notes shall not be less than one nor over one thousand dollars in value and shall be a legal tender.

That issue of the Treasury notes in pay for bullion, provided for in the Act of 1890, shall be discontinued, and all such as are outstanding shall be called in and destroyed and coin notes shall be substituted for them.

That the issue of coin notes shall never be greater than the coinage value of the bullion in the Treasury.

That said coin notes shall be redeemed in coin at the Treasury, and the bullion deposited shall be coined as fast as said coins are needed for such purposes of redemption.

That any holder of gold or silver coins may deposit the same, in sums of ten dollars, and demand coin notes therefor.

That the Act of 1890 is repealed; and that the silver dollar of 412½ grains may change to one of 400 grains as soon as France reopens her mints to free and unrestricted coinage of silver at the ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold.

Under the Act of 1890 the government must purchase 54,000,000 ounces of silver per annum, for which it pays the market price.

Under the proposed Act of 1892 the owner of gold or

HON. RICHARD P. BLAND.

Born near Hartford, Ky., August 19, 1835; academically educated; moved to Missouri, 1855; thence to California and Virginia city, Nev.; practiced law and engaged in mining; County Treasurer of Carson co.; back to Missouri, 1865; practiced law at Rolla and Lebanon; elected, as a Democrat, to represent Eleventh Missouri District in 43d, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st and 52d Congresses; rose to distinction as author of Bland Silver Bill, which became a law, with the Allison amendment, in 1878; Father of the Free Silver Coinage Bill in 52d Congress; Chairman of Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures; an able advocate of Tariff Reform and Free Coinage of Silver.

silver bullion may deposit his bullion at the mint, demand its mintage free, or demand coin notes for it at the mint value of the bullion.

In the former case the owner of bullion got pay for bullion at its price on the day he deposited it. In the latter case he can get pay at the mint value of the bullion, that is, for every ounce of silver bullion deposited that has cost him 95 cents, he can get $1.29 in coin. The opponents of free coinage put it this way:—The mine owners turned in their product of 54,000,000 ounces last year at a value of $53,796,833, for which they received Treasury notes to that amount. Under the proposed Bland Act they could demand the mint value for their 54,000,000 ounces. The mint value would be $71,000,000. Therefore, they receive nearly 30 per cent. in excess of the market value of their silver. But the advocates of free coinage say that the discrimination of existing laws against silver makes the disparity between it and gold, and that the removal of such discrimination would make the bullion value of silver and the price of it with the government stamp on it the same. They say that whenever the mints are open to the free coinage of silver, and whenever the owner of such silver can have it exchanged at the rate of 100 cents for 371¼ grains, silver will be worth as much without as with the government stamp. Their opponents say they quite lose sight of the fact that the moment these 371¼ grains of silver which are worth in the markets of the world, say 80 cents, becomes worth 100 cents by sheer virtue of the stamp upon it, all the world will pour its surplus silver into our mints and completely swamp our metal currency. Gold would flee and there would be no means of sustaining silver money at par. They also say that as the country is at present situated with barely enough of gold to sustain our present silver cir-

culation, the moment free coinage of silver were adopted it would be accepted by the Treasury and by the banks, as notice to suspend gold payments. Unless such suspension were resorted to it would be no time before the gold reserve would be exhausted and catastrophe ensue.

The arguments in favor of free and unrestricted coinage of silver gain great plausibility when they are turned to the account of the debtor classes—to farmers with mortgages on their farms and to others similarly encumbered. As seen just above, they could take advantage of the 30 per cent. between the market and mint value of the dollar and thus pay their debts at less than they contracted to pay. The opponents of free silver coinage say it would be better for the government to extend this difference to these debtors as a charity, rather than run the risk of a dishonored currency and of the panics, disturbances and immense losses which would surely follow.

Again the free silver coinage men say they are certain that their doctrine in practice will make the silver dollar fully equal to the gold dollar. If this be so, say their opponents, then a silver dollar will be as hard to get as the gold dollar and the debtor will be no better off than at present. But granting every advantage claimed by the free coinage men for the debtor classes, how about the creditor classes? They are by far the most numerous class. Every laborer is a creditor when his day's work is done, every pensioner of the government, every saving institution, etc. If the cheaper dollar scales the mortgage for the debtor and enables him to pay it easier—a matter the mortgagee might stand—would not the cheaper dollar scale the debt due at night to the miner, the servant, the artisan, the day laborer?

No, says the free coinage man, for the dollar would still be a dollar. But says his opponent, it being a dollar whose

intrinsic value is only 80 or 90 cents, and being plenty, prices must rise, and the miner's $3.50 per day can only be exchanged for commodities which formerly cost him a dollar less.

But as most of the infallible laws which underlie the questions of currency have already been stated in this article, we leave the theories which now constitute so large a part of the discussion of the silver question to the reader, to indulge as he chooses. It should not be forgotten that other countries have done with their silver just what is proposed to be done here, and that they—notably the Latin Union—had to give up in despair their efforts to sustain silver coinage at par with gold, in quantities beyond the ordinary needs of trade. Our reserve of gold will always float a fair quantity of silver, but to give to silver free and unlimited coinage is to place gold at its mercy, if the experience of other nations is worth anything.

This might not be so if other countries were on a silver basis, or even if silver constituted a larger per cent. of their currency. It is with a view to an agreement upon the place which silver shall, or ought to, hold, in an international sense, that the United States has requested a conference of the nations of Europe, which conference will be one of the events of 1892 and its results will go far toward simplifying the silver question in this country.

SILVER STATEMENT.

From United States Mint Report for 1891.

Silver received at Mints, 1891	$71,985,985
Silver dollars coined, 1891	36,232,802
Silver dollars distributed from Mints, 1891	13,208,794
Silver dollars in Mints, July 1, 1891	101,290,755
Total coinage of silver dollars since 1886	409,475,368

Silver dollars held in Treasury for redemption of silver certificates	321,142,642
Outstanding silver certificates	294,945,377
Excess of held coin over certificates	26,197,265
Silver dollars in circulation	62,135,461

HOW TO FIGURE SILVER DOLLAR VALUES.

Silver bullion could be bought May 23, 1892, for 88 cents per ounce of 480 grains.

Divide 480 into 88 and you have .01833 cents, or a little over 1.8 cents, as the price of a grain of silver.

371 of these grains make a silver dollar—really 371¼.

Therefore, 371 multiplied by .01833 = 68 cents, the cost of the silver in a silver dollar.

Now if a man gets a dollar, or 100 cents, for what cost him 68 cents, how much would he get for that ounce of silver bullion which he deposited and which cost him 88 cents?

It would stand as 68 cents is to 100 cents, so is 88 cents to the answer.

Answer:—$1.294 per ounce for his silver bullion.

HON. ZEBULON B. VANCE.

Born in Buncombe co., N. C., May 13, 1830; educated at Washington College, Tenn., and at University of North Carolina; admitted to bar, 1852, and elected District Attorney of native co.; member of State House of Commons, 1854; member of Congress for 35th and 36th Congresses; served as Colonel in Confederate army; elected Governor of North Carolina, 1862, and again in 1864; elected to U. S. Senate, November, 1870, and refused admission; Democratic candidate for U. S. Senator in 1872, but defeated by a Democrat and Republican combination; elected Governor of State, 1876; elected to U. S. Senate for term beginning March, 1879; re-elected in 1884 and 1890; member of Committees on District of Columbia, Finance, Privileges and Elections, etc.

RECIPROCITY IN AMERICA. — AN HISTORIC REVIEW.

GENERAL VIEW.

THE idea, or rather the doctrine, of reciprocal trade is by no means new. As a principle it has been long recognized in this country. In England it is what is called "Fair Trade," and is upheld by a school of economists and statesmen who oppose "Free Trade," or seek to escape from the effects of "Free Trade," by a system which shall not be one-sided only.

The doctrine, pure and simple, is this, if a nation does not impose duties on our goods entering its ports, we will not impose duties on its goods entering our ports; and if a nation levies duties on our goods, we will levy duty on its goods.

This, say fair-traders, is but the doctrine of *lex talionis*, tit-for-tat, as applied to trade. This, say free-traders, is the folly of imposing a double loss on ourselves. Thus, foreigners tax our products when they enter their ports. This imposes a loss on us. Then, in turn, we tax their products when entering our ports. This imposes a second loss on us. They say, that for an injury done us by others, we fine ourselves. When others impoverish us, we respond by a system of impoverishment.

Protectionists eschew theories and refinements, and say that each country is a law unto itself respecting trade. All prosperous countries have been built on this principle. All recognize it in one way or another, whatever their outward professions, or present economic leanings. It is but the

duty of caring for one's self. It is but the right to live, and to enjoy advantages, if such exist.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES.

Reciprocity has for ages been established and determined between nations by means of commercial treaties. The usual process has been for two nations, about to treat, to consult their respective tariff lists, and to grant reductions of duties on the class of goods which they desire most to receive from each other. Equally, each country seeks to secure the lowest rate of duty on the class of goods whose manufacture constitutes its own industry, and whose sale abroad it wishes to cultivate. Thus, England makes the best bargain she can for the foreign sale of her hardware and cottons, France for her silks and wines, Belgium for her iron products, the United States for her flour and meat. The free-trade countries of the world are the most prolific of reciprocity treaties, yet there never was a reciprocity treaty that did not recognize the doctrine of protection, else it would have been of no use. The essence of all commercial treaties is home-trade advantage, home-industry advantage, home-development advantage, whether directly by encouragement to labor and capital on the spot, or indirectly by reason of enlarged markets abroad.

Says Leveleye, one of the ablest of French Political Economists, and a pronounced free-trader:—"Commercial treaties are useful in assuring to industry what is so essential to it, the fixity of foreign customs dues throughout the period embraced by the treaty. Nowadays commercial treaties are of more importance than political treaties, for it is on commercial treaties that the progress of industry in each country in a great measure depends, and also what is no less im-

portant, the development of commercial relations and community of interest between different lands."

"MOST FAVORED NATION" CLAUSE.

Very often the parties to commercial treaties stipulate that each of them shall enjoy all the advantages that may come to, or be secured by, the other through a reduction of duties between it and still other countries. This has come to be known in diplomacy as "*the most favored nation clause*," a term which grows more familiar each year. It stands thus: —England agrees to abolish, or reduce to a minimum, her duties on French silks, as a concession to France for so reducing, or abolishing, her duties on English cottons. But at the same time England says to France, and it is agreed, that if you succeed in getting similar terms with any other country by reason of a desire for your silks, we expect our cottons to follow in the wake of your silks. The favors your silks secure for you must extend to our cottons. So France says to England, and it is agreed, that if you succeed in getting similar terms with any other country by reason of a desire for your cottons, we expect our silks to follow in the wake of your cottons. The favors your cottons secure for you must extend to our silks. Thus "*the most favored nation clause*" may suffice to carry the favorite product of a highly industrial and ingenious nation, with commercial facilities, into every mart of the world.

This extension of, and refinement on, the principle of reciprocity as established by commercial treaties, is only an enlargement of the spirit of advantage between nations. Clearly, nothing is given without something, and the like, is expected. As nations do not trade for pure love of the thing, something more is expected than is given, if not directly, at least indirectly. But this is protection, says

the protectionist, for each nation seeks to advantage itself, and it matters not whether it proceeds on the principle of denial or concession. Not so, says the free-trader; it is free-trade, for the moment you concede the principle of concession you repudiate that of denial, or, in other words, discrimination by duties. And so economists bandy theories, and prove to the world that their science is weightier in words than worth.

But while commercial treaties have been the usual, almost the sole, means of establishing reciprocity, or reciprocal trade, between commercial nations, they have been slow and cumbrous of formation and operation, and always costly of negotiation. They have proved of doubtful construction and uncertain worth, except where the inducement to make them was very great, and the power to enforce them reposed in the contracting parties. New and weak countries were placed at a disadvantage by them, even if the inducement to make them existed, and, indeed, no such inducement could exist till a country was sufficiently advanced to have something substantial to offer for what it desired to receive.

POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES.

As long as the United States was going through its early experiments with free-trade and protection, there was hardly a thought of reciprocity or reciprocal trade as we have come to understand it. In all the early arguments respecting the advantages of protection by means of duties on foreign imports, the central thought was that protection was necessary in order to foster infant industries. There was hardly any diversity of opinion about this. Statesmen of all parties and economic schools joined in the thought and sought by speech and vote to establish the principle. Politics did not seriously tinge a tariff debate as long as the idea was

HON. ROBERT E. PATTISON.

Born in Quantico, Somerset co., Md., December 8, 1850; moved to Philadelphia when young and graduated at Central High School; admitted to bar, 1872; elected Comptroller of Philadelphia, 1877 and 1880; elected Governor of Pennsylvania, on Democratic ticket, 1882; appointed member of Pacific R. R. Commission by President Cleveland, 1887; helped to organize and became President of Chestnut Street National Bank; prominent member of Morning *Record* Co., Limited; re-elected Governor of Pennsylvania, on Democratic ticket, 1890.

dominant that the infancy of industry required the protective hand of the Government. In this the most pronounced free-traders had the sanction and support of the English economic writers, who, almost without exception, admitted the doctrine that in order to establish and foster infant industries, protection was right in law and morals. England had universally and persistently applied the principle, till she had grown rich, powerful and independent by means of it.

It was not until 1824, when the old arguments respecting the uses of protection began to be tinged by partyism, that attention began to be turned seriously to the advantages of reciprocal trade. The country was then sufficiently advanced to make it a question in the minds of statesmen. Free-traders, the very ones who had all along favored protection as a means of fostering infant industries, now turned their arguments against protection in general. The peculiar condition of the country, divided into a strictly planting class, with unpaid labor at its command, and a manufacturing, commercial and more diversified industrial class, with only paid labor at its command, contributed to the change of sentiment and the tone of argument. The planting class, with its unpaid labor, saw a menace in the growth of manufactures and commerce, with their paid labor. The system of free, paid labor was a harsh contrast with, and a standing threat upon, the system of slave, unpaid labor. Established manufactories and profitable commerce were proving a source of wealth, population, importance and comfort, which might in the end overshadow the planting class and its geographic section, even if it did not endanger the slave institution.

Therefore the free-traders injected into their opposition to protection the argument that protection had already done

its legitimate work in grounding and fostering the young industries of the country, and was no longer necessary. They said it was a stretch of power any how on the part of the government, and was no longer justified. They said that inasmuch as it could be of no earthly use to the planting sections, it was unfair for the nation to legislate in the interest of the manufacturing and commercial sections. They attacked the constitutionality of tariff legislation. As time went on, and the issue of slavery became more a matter of question, the tariff debates brought out in stronger lines the above arguments. The doctrine of free-trade took passionate and almost sectional turn. It came nearer than ever to cleaving and dividing polities. Calhoun did not hesitate to declare that the further fostering of industries by means of protection would destroy the planting class and the institution of slavery; that the object of free-trade, as he advocated it, was to strike a blow at paid labor and the prosperity of the manufacturing classes; that the tariff system was so unfair, so unconstitutional, such an infliction on the States of his section, as to warrant nullification of tariff laws, and if this did not provide an escape from their operation, then secession would be justified.

THE NEW PROTECTIVE IDEA.

These arguments were so ably maintained, and the situation became so serious, as to force the protectionists on to new ground. It is no disparagement to their numbers or ability to say that they could no longer maintain themselves on the plea of protection to infant industries—the common ground of all statesmen in the beginning. They were compelled, or perhaps the time had arrived for it, to broaden their ground, and to make it more secure by a new declaration of protective principles by, one may say, a new depar-

ture in political economy. This became the dawn of those doctrines which, elaborated by time and modified by circumstances, comprise American protection as enunciated by modern statesmen, and as they seek to embody them in protective legislation.

The gist of these doctrines is, that as labor constitutes a very large per cent. of the cost of an article, the true measure of protection is a duty which will cover that element of cost, and thus save our labor from competition with the low-priced labor of foreign countries. Along with this goes the doctrine that the free-list may safely embrace only those articles which are impossible of production with us by reason of our soil, climate and natural advantages.

POLICY OF SUBSIDY.

Abreast of this doctrine is another, daily growing more momentous, and one which has been enforced by the fact that our genius and facilities tend to overcrowding in our own markets; it is, that the very best protection that can be afforded in such case is the establishment of steamship lines to carry our surplus products to those who need them most, or to those of whom we buy most and to whom we have to pay most. This has been a favorite and universal means of protection with all commercial countries, and it has been employed at great outlay on the part of those countries in the way of pay, or subsidy, to said lines, first in order to start them, and second in order to maintain them. But this means of protection has not yet been reached in this country. Subsidy is a word our people cannot yet abide. No theory of protection that embodies the word directly has ever yet been framed in this country that could withstand the assaults of its opponents. The reason is that it appeals too directly to the capitalistic or monopolistic spirit and

class. On the part of the government it is too direct a kind of paternalism. As to the recipients, it is too special a gift. It is no answer to all this, as yet, to say that as no other commercial country ever succeeded in protecting itself through the establishment of steamship lines, except by starting and fostering them by subsidies, so this country has not done, and can never be expected to do, the same without the employment of similar agencies. Nor is it, as yet, a sufficient answer to say that the word subsidy in this connection can only be rendered offensive when narrowed to its apparent recipients, who really ought not to be considered at all, or, if considered, ought to find their true infinitesimal place in comparison with the tens of thousands of manufactories, the hundreds of thousands of laborers and farmers, and the millions of capital, which an exit for our over products would keep employed.

POLICY OF RECIPROCITY.

Still further, abreast of this doctrine is the policy of reciprocity; or, as we had better say, the principle of practical, or applied, reciprocity, rendered conspicuous, as formulated in the Tariff Act of 1890, and adopted as a measure of the Harrison Administration. This policy presumes that we ought to have better outlet for our manufactures. It presumes that direct trade with those from whom we buy most and to whom we sell least, would be a most desirable and advantageous trade to establish, as serving to balance accounts without draining us of gold cash. It presumes that, as to certain countries at least, notably those nearest to us, and especially those whose products we take largely and which we cannot duplicate at home, we are in a position to offer what they require, of as good quality and on as fair terms, as they can secure elsewhere.

HON. WILLIAM ALFRED PEFFER.

Born in Cumberland co., Pa., September 10, 1831; educated in common schools; engaged in teaching and farming; moved to Indiana, 1853, and engaged in farming; moved to Missouri, 1859, and to Illinois, 1861; enlisted in Union army and served in Department of Nashville; studied law and began practice in Clarksville, Tenn., 1865; moved to Kansas, 1870, to practice law and edit; elected to State Senate, 1874; Republican elector in 1880; editor of *Kansas Farmer*, 1881; elected to United States Senate, as a People's Party candidate, for term beginning March 4, 1891; an exponent of the ideas advocated by the Farmer's Alliance and other new parties.

HON. RICHARD F. PETTIGREW.

Born at Ludlow, Vermont, July, 1848; moved to Wisconsin, 1854; studied at Beloit College, 1865–66; member of law class of Wisconsin University, 1870; moved to Dakota, 1869; engaged in surveying and real estate at Sioux Falls; practiced law since 1872; elected to Dakota Legislature, 1877 and 1879; elected Territorial delegate to 47th Congress; re-elected to Legislature, 1884-85; member of South Dakota Constitutional Convention, 1883; elected U. S. Senator, as a Republican, from South Dakota, October 16, 1889; chairman of Quadro-Centennial Committee, and member of Committees on Improvement of Mississippi River, Indian Affairs, Public Lands and Railroads.

It presumes that inasmuch as we are sufficiently advanced and sufficiently well off to remit entirely duties on their products,—most of which are necessaries of life, and hitherto subjected to duty for sheer purposes of revenue,—and actually do remit such duties, that they ought to reciprocate by either abolishing or lowering their duties on articles we send to them. Not to do so would be unreciprocal. It would be for us to enlarge our inducements for their trade, by removing duties upon it, and for them to reject these inducements by refusing to modify or abolish duties on our trade.

COUNTRIES MOST INTERESTED.

It is clear to every one that the countries most directly affected by what may now be called the American policy of reciprocity, are those countries to the south of us, which comprise Mexico, Central America and South America. To these may be added other countries whose, or any part of whose, products are as theirs are. This being so, even the casual student of history will be struck by a comparison of two American continental epochs or eras, the one *political*, the other *commercial*.

Let us take the political one and consider it. It began in 1787, the date on which our Republican experiment was launched, the date of our Federal Constitution. Add thirty years to it, so as to make it embrace a period up to the date of what may be called general and successful revolt against Spanish supremacy in South America, and the establishment of the South American Republics. Fix this date at say about the year 1824. These thirty years, or thereabouts, saw the United States engaged in finding a permanent place for her political institutions. She was manfully meeting the trials to which young countries are subjected, and especially

those countries that have been compelled to conquer their independence by means of war, and have been bold enough to dare a political experiment at odds with the systems, traditions and instincts of the mother countries. She was heroically and successfully passing through the stages—many of them severe, even to the point of a second war—which led up to full independence, to universal recognition of her right to exist as a government and nation, and to that conspicuous place in the firmament of Western Republics, which made her a cynosure in the eyes of all.

At the beginning of this period what did she find? The entire continent to the south of her was Spanish. Spanish political domination was complete as it could be, all things considered. Then came the gradual breaking away from foreign and monarchical moorings, under the lead of brave generals, like Bolivar, under the influence of enlarged ideas of freedom, under the inspiration furnished by the success of the northern experiment.

So busy had the United States been with her own experiment, that she had not had time to more than note what was going on to the south of her. Her own expanse was so ample, her resources so sufficient, her thought so distinctive, as that political confederacy on the continent had not occurred to her, or at least had taken no definite shape. Neither had political co-operation, or, in other words, political reciprocity, taken even vague shape. Sympathy existed for every effort looking to the breaking of the Spanish yoke. Indirect encouragement was offered to the erection of every republican temple founded on the ashes of European monarchy. But that was all, until the time should come when, her own political destiny being assured, and a new order of statesmen having arisen, the Republic of the North could afford to recognize in a more direct manner those of the South.

POLITICAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES IN SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

It was in 1808 that the interference of Napoleon with the affairs of Spain enabled the South American republics to rejoice in the assurance of their own autonomy. But a long struggle was necessary in order to establish the independence they hoped for. For twenty years they looked vainly for succor or approval from European monarchies. They had been all along looking to the Republic of the North, and copying her splendid example. They now began to look for substantial recognition, and they found in Henry Clay their earliest and ablest champion. In 1818 Mr. Clay made a passionate appeal in the House of Representatives for their recognition, and in the same year the condition of the South American provinces became a subject of consideration at a cabinet meeting, James Monroe being President. Four years afterwards, the recognition they sought from the United States came, and it was soon followed by recognition on the part of Great Britain. In the next year, 1823, President Monroe, in his message to Congress, and in discussing the relation of foreign powers toward those on the American Continent, said:

"In wars of European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers (of Europe) is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments.

And to the defence of our own which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of our most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations subsisting between the United States and those powers, *to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.* With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, *we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.*"

This was the "Monroe Doctrine;" this the note of warning, to monarchical Europe to keep hands off the political destiny of a Continent. It was of this doctrine that Daniel Webster, in a speech in the House, April, 1826, upon the subject of an appropriation to send a mission from the United States to the South American Congress at Panama, said:

"I look on the message of December, 1823, as forming a bright page in our history. I will neither help to erase it or tear it out, nor shall it by any act of mine be blurred or blotted. It did honor to the sagacity of the government, and I will not diminish that honor. It elevated the hopes and gratified the patriotism of the people. Over those hopes I will not bring a mildew, nor will I put that gratified patriotism to shame."

HON. WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS.

Born in New York City, August 24, 1839; graduated at Yale, 1860; and at Columbia Law School, 1863; entered practice and became attorney for several R. R. Co's; elected to Congress, from New Jersey, in 1872 as a Republican; rose to distinction as a debater and leader; defeated for second term; delegate-at-large from New Jersey in National Conventions of 1880–84; appointed minister to Austria by President Garfield; re-elected to 48th, 49th and 50th Congresses; conspicuous for interest in tariff, merchant marine and foreign affairs; fine orator and party counsellor; Regent of Smithsonian Institution; President of Columbia Law School Association; founder of N. Y. Union League and University clubs; appointed Minister to Germany by President Harrison.

CONGRESS OF REPUBLICS.

In 1821 the Republic of Colombia suggested the idea of a closer connection between the Spanish colonies in Central and South America. In July, 1822, and before their independence had been recognized by the United States, Colombia and Chili negotiated a treaty looking to a Congress of the new Republics, resembling the one already constructed in Europe (The Holy Alliance, which was an attempt to fetter all Europe with absolute monarchy), and having for its object "The construction of a continental system for America."

The idea ripened slowly, though it was sedulously cherished by Bolivar and other leaders, Bolivar being then at the head of the Republic of Peru. It was not until December 7, 1824, that he issued his invitation to the Republics south of us, to meet in conference at Panama. Most of them accepted, and the "General Assembly of the American Republics" met at Panama, June 22, 1826.

What was singular about this Congress or General Assembly was that it was no part of Bolivar's design to invite the United States to participate. The Republics of South America had abolished African slavery in 1813. Doubtless Bolivar felt that the interest which the United States had at that time in preserving and extending slavery would tend to embarrass her acceptance of an invitation, or make her an unwelcome, if not dangerous, participant. The invitation to the United States came from Colombia and Mexico, after an inquiry through Mr. Clay as to whether it would be acceptable to President Adams. Mr. Adams was so far satisfied as that he appointed two representatives to the Congress or Conference, subject to the "advice and consent of the Senate."

In his message to the Senate, Mr. Adams gave among

other reasons for his action the following, which is valuable in this connection as showing the dawn of the idea that mutual commercial intercourse with the South American States might well become a subject of consideration in such a conference as that proposed. He said:

"But the South American nations, in the infancy of their independence, often find themselves in positions with reference to other countries, with principles applicable to which, derivable from the state of independence itself, they have not been familiarized by experience. The result of this has been that sometimes in their intercourse with the United States they have manifested dispositions to reserve a right of granting special favors and privileges to the Spanish nation as the price of their recognition; at others, they have *actually established duties and impositions operating unfavorably to the United States, to the advantage of European powers;* and sometimes they have appeared to consider that they might interchange among themselves mutual concessions of exclusive favor, to which neither European powers nor the United States should be admitted. In most of these cases their regulations unfavorable to us have yielded to friendly expostulation and remonstrance; but it is believed to be of infinite moment *that the principles of a liberal commercial intercourse* should *be exhibited to them* and urged with interested and friendly persuasion upon them, when all are assembled for the avowed purpose of consulting together upon the establishment of such principles as may have an important bearing upon their future welfare."

The debate in the Senate upon the proposed mission was exceedingly acrimonious. Serious charges were brought against President Adams, and the policy and purposes of his administration were denounced as dangerous. It was

declared that the mission would lead to international complications. The slave-holding members affirmed that in reference to the rest of America, as well as to Europe, slavery must be and remain the prime motive of the foreign policy of the United States, and they said that they saw in the conference peril to their "peculiar institutions," for the history of these Southern Republics as to slavery furnished an example "scarcely less fatal than the independence of Hayti to the repose of the slave States of the Union." They had not only copied from the revolutionary records of the United States the words "freedom," "equality" and "universal emancipation," but had actually broken the chains of all slaves.

THE COMMERCIAL THOUGHT UPPERMOST.

The defenders of the proposed mission and of the President's action made many elaborate arguments for their side, all of which embraced in some form the idea of more extended and intimate commercial intercourse, upon the basis of mutual or reciprocal trade. When Mr. Adams was asked by the House for further information respecting his view and his action he responded in a lengthy message, in which he said: —

"The first and paramount principle upon which it was deemed wise and just to lay the corner-stone of all our future relations with them was disinterestedness; the next was cordial good will to them; *the third was a claim of fair and equal reciprocity.*"

Then in further allusion to the commercial idea he said: —

"It will be within the recollection of the House that immediately after our War of Independence a measure closely analogous to this Congress of Panama was adopted by the Congress of our Confederation and for purposes of precisely

the same character. Three commissioners with plenipotentiary powers were appointed to negotiate treaties of amity, navigation and commerce with all the principal powers of Europe. They met and resided at Paris for one year, for that purpose, and the only result of their negotiations was our first treaty between the United States and Prussia, memorable in the diplomatic annals of the world and precious as a monument of principles in relation to commerce and maritime warfare, with which our country entered upon her career as a member of the great family of independent nations."

In the Senate, the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported against the expediency of sending ministers to the Panama Congress, but afterwards, and very grudgingly, approved the President's selection. The House, after long delay, agreed to appropriate the necessary funds. The ministers were sent, but delay had done its designed work. They were too late for the Conference, which had adjourned previous to their arrival. Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, was much mortified at the failure, and the President, in 1829, in alluding to the failure said to the Senate:—"While there is no probability of the renewal of the negotiations, the purposes for which they were intended are still of the *deepest interest to our country and to the world, and may, hereafter, call again for the active energies of the Government of the United States.*"

It might be interesting in this connection to know that the South and Central American Republics continued to hold conferences for consideration and adjustment of their affairs and the unification of their interests. One was held at Lima in 1847, another in 1864, another was proposed at Panama in 1881, which was prevented by the South American wars, and another was held at Montevideo in 1888–89.

HON. THOMAS C. POWER.

Born near Dubuque, Iowa, May 22, 1839; educated at Sinsinewa College, Wis., in engineering; with surveying party in Dakota, 1860; engaged in mercantile pursuits on Missouri river; located at Fort Benton, 1867; President of "Benton P" line of steamers; largely interested in mines, cattle and mercantile companies; moved to Helena in 1878; member of Montana Constitutional Convention, 1883; delegate to Republican National Convention, 1888; nominated for Governor of State, 1889, on Republican ticket, and defeated; elected to United States Senate, as Republican, January 2, 1890; Chairman of Civil Service Committee; member of Committees on Improvements of Mississippi River, Indian Affairs, Public Lands, Railroads.

The United States was not represented in any of them. The era of our political influence upon these Republics, whether by example, or by the encouragement extended in the "Monroe Doctrine," or by the comity intended by Mr. Adams, had ended with their freedom from monarchical yoke and the assurance that they were forever committed to the Republican spirit.

COMMERCIAL BONDAGE OF THE REPUBLICS.

But singular as it may seem that political freedom was followed by commercial bondage. Commercial Europe set her head for conquest, and with her immense facilities overran the marts from which the Spanish warships had been driven. This invasion has become well nigh complete.

We now come to the second era above mentioned—the commercial. We have seen how the end of the political era witnessed the dawn of the idea of commercial reciprocity with the Southern Republics. The idea lay dormant, so far as the United States was concerned, through the period devoted to working out its own industrial and commercial independence. The industrial and commercial period from 1824 to 1860 may be likened to the political period prior to the Revolution. The industrial and commercial period from 1861 to the present may be likened to the political period from 1787 to 1824, each of these periods being considered with reference to our relations to the Southern Republics. Strange to say, the above period from 1861 to the present corresponds in length with the period from 1787 to 1824, at whose end we took political cognizance of these Republics and witnessed their freedom from European monarchy.

The settlement of our sectional differences by civil war, the establishment of a system of finance which gives us

rank among the nations, the practice of protection which made us industrially and commercially independent, brings us to a point of time when our example and influence must affect the countries of our continent to the south of us in a commercial sense, just as they were affected in a political sense. If their commercial subjugation by Europe is as complete as was their political subjugation by Spain, and their independence as desirable, they may well look once more to us for something which in commerce shall be the equivalent of the "Monroe Doctrine" in politics. We are in a position to extend it, at least that is the significance of practical reciprocity.

A PEACE CONGRESS.

What President Adams called "the deepest interests of our country," and what he prophesied might "hereafter call again for the active energies of the Government of the United States," began its culmination with the invitation of President Garfield for all the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington. It has been given out that he aimed at something more than a mere code of arbitration in case of disputes which might lead to war among American states, and that he contemplated making commercial reciprocity a leading feature of his administration. His death frustrated his design.

A MORE COMMERCIAL THOUGHT.

President Garfield's invitation was recalled by President Arthur in order that the Congress might be given opportunity to consider the advisability of the step. Just as soon as the Congress began to deliberate upon the matter, the subject took wider and wider range, and the idea of reciprocal commerce became a conspicuous feature. On Jan-

uary 21, 1880, Senator Davis of Illinois first threw his suggestion of an "International American Conference" into a Senate Bill in which occurred the following words: —

"Whereas from the southern boundary of the United States to the Argentine Republic, and also the Republic of Chile, a distance of about 4,500 miles, including Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay, containing a population of, in all, about 40,000,000 industrious and progressive people, with whom the United States hold, and desire to maintain, the most friendly relations, and with whom a closer and reciprocal interest in trade and commerce ought to be encouraged," etc.

The Davis proposition looked to this "closer and reciprocal interest in trade and commerce" by means of a great southern railroad connecting the three Americas.

On April 24, 1882, Senator Cockrell, of Missouri, introduced into the Senate a bill similar to the above, whose object was the "appointment of a special commissioner for promoting intercourse with such countries of Central and South America as may be found to possess natural facilities for railway communication with each other and with the United States."

On the same date, April 24, 1882, Senator Morgan, of Alabama, introduced a kindred bill, "for the encouragement of closer commercial relations between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, Central America, the Empire of Brazil and the several Republics of South America."

Similar bills were introduced into the House, all looking to "the promotion of commercial intercourse" with the countries to the south of us, all of which were reported adversely by the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In 1883 Senator Sherman reintroduced into the Senate

the Morgan Bill of 1882. In the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress, Mr. Townsend, of Illinois, introduced a joint resolution, "inviting the co-operation of the Governments of American nations in securing the establishment of free commercial intercourse among those nations and an American Customs' Union."

On March 3, 1884, Senator Cockrell introduced a Senate bill authorizing a commission to Central and South America "for the purpose of collecting information looking to the extension of American trade and commerce," etc. This bill was reported favorably by the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Before taking action on this bill, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate requested the views of Mr. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State, as to the proposed legislation. He reviewed the entire question very fully in his reply of March 26, 1884, and fully set forth the advantages of reciprocity with these countries. His arguments pointed directly to reciprocity as a necessity, in case duties were greatly lowered, or entirely removed, on the products of these countries.

"I am," said he, "thoroughly convinced of the advisability of knitting closely our relations with the States of this Continent, and no effort on my part shall be wanting to accomplish a result so consonant with the constant policy of this country and in the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, which, in excluding foreign political interference, recognizes the common interest of the States of North and South America. It is the history of all diplomacy that close political relations and friendship spring from unity of commercial interests. . . . . .
The true plan, it seems to me, is to make a series of reciprocity treaties with the States of Central and South

HON. REDFIELD PROCTOR.

Born at Proctorsville, Vermont, June 1, 1831; graduated from Dartmouth, 1851, and from Albany Law School in 1859; practiced law in Boston; served in Army 1861–63; rose to be Colonel of Fifteenth Vermont Volunteers; returned to practice of law; elected to Assembly, 1867–68; again, 1888; served in State Senate, 1874–76; elected Lieutenant-Governor, 1876; advanced to Governor, 1878; delegate-at-large to Republican National Conventions, 1884, 1888; appointed Secretary of War by President Harrison, 1889; resigned November 1, 1891, to take place of Senator Edmunds in United States Senate; a man of pronounced Republican views, high standing as lawyer and statesman, ripe business experience, and great popularity with his people.

America, taking care that those manufactures, and as far as is practicable those products, which would come into competition with our own manufactures and products should not be admitted to the free list. By these treaties we might secure for valuable consideration so as not to violate the most-favored-nation clause of other treaties, further substantial advantages. Such, for example, as the free navigation of their coasts, rivers and lakes.

"Indiscriminate reduction of duties on materials peculiarly the production of Central and South America would take from us the ability to offer reciprocity, and we would thus lose the opportunity to secure valuable trade. Removal of duties from coffee, without greatly cheapening its price, deprived us of the power to negotiate with the coffee-growing countries of Spanish-America highly advantageous reciprocity treaties, and indiscriminate reduction of duties on sugar would complete our inability to establish favorable commercial relations with those countries which form our natural market, and from which we are now almost entitely excluded. If we confine the reduction of duties on such articles as sugar and coffee to those Spanish-American countries which are willing to negotiate with us treaties of reciprocity, we cheapen these products for our own people and at the same time gain the control of those markets for the products of our fields and factories."

STARTLING REVELATIONS.

The report of the House Committee, to which two of the above bills had been referred, was most elaborate and contained some startling revelations as to trade with these countries. It showed their total commerce in 1883 to be $752,918,000, in which the United States participated only to the extent of $142,282,000. It showed that their imports

to the United States amounted for that year to $93,319,000, whereas we sent in turn to them only $48,963,000. It quoted from the work of a recent commercial traveller through those States, to this effect:

"It always grieved me exceedingly, and was particularly offensive to my sense of the fitness of things, to find almost everything in the way of foreign merchandise, throughout the length and breadth of my routes, of European manufacture. At different points along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, in many cities of the plains, in various towns on the mountain slopes, on the apex of Potosi and on the tops of other Andean peaks higher than Mount Hood, I have gone into stores and warehouses and looked in vain—utterly in vain—for one single article of American manufacture. From the little pin with which the lady fastens her beau-catching ribbons to the grand piano with which she enlivens and enchants the hearts of all her household; from the tiniest thread and tack and tool needed in the mechanic arts to the largest plows and harrows and other agricultural implements and machines required for use on the farm—all these and other things, the wares and fabrics and light groceries and delicacies in common demand; the drugs and chemicals sold by the apothecary; the fermented, malt and spirituous liquors in the wine saloon; the stationery and fancy goods in the book-store; the furniture in the parlor and the utensils in the kitchen, are, with rare exceptions, of English, German, Spanish, or Italian manufacture. And what makes the matter still more unsatisfactory and vexatious to the North American and more expensive and otherwise disadvantageous to the South American, is that these articles are, as a general rule, inferior both in material and make to the corresponding article of American manufacture."

The report favored the appointment of a commission to

these countries. A bill authorizing such commission was passed, and George H. Sharpe, New York, Solon O. Thacher, Kansas, and Thomas C. Reynolds, Missouri, were appointed Commissioners, with Mr. W. E. Curtis as Secretary. They sat in our principal cities, visited the countries of Central and South America, and made valuable reports from time to time.

On December 21, 1885, Mr. Townsend, of Illinois, reintroduced his resolution into the House, looking to an American Customs' Union. It was reported adversely, as was a bill providing for international arbitration. The same fatality befell similar bills in the Senate.

GROWTH OF THE COMMERCIAL THOUGHT.

On February 22, 1886, Senator Frye, of Maine, introduced an elaborate bill into the Senate "to promote the political progress and commercial prosperity of the United States." It provided for an American International Congress at Washington on October 1, 1887, and suggested a list of subjects to be considered, which list embraced:

1. Measures of peace and prosperity.
2. An American Customs' Union.
3. Regular and frequent steamship lines.
4. Uniform system of customs regulations.
5. Uniform weights and measures.
6. A common silver coin.
7. A definite plan of arbitration.

On March 29, 1886, Mr. McCreary, of Kentucky, introduced in the House a bill "authorizing the President to arrange a conference for the purpose of encouraging peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations between the United States and Mexico, the Central American and South Amer-

ican States." On the same day Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, introduced a bill favoring an Arbitration Conference.

On April 15, 1886, Mr. McCreary, of Kentucky, reported his bill from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, with a complete text and favorable report. It provided for an International Conference at Washington, and for "considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse between said countries, and to encourage such reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all and secure more extensive markets for the products of each of said countries."

NECESSITY FOR RECIPROCAL TRADE.

The report of the majority of the committee accompanying this bill was a very able one, and particularly valuable as a matter of economic and commercial history, and as coming from a committee not regarded as favorable to the reciprocity idea.

The report set forth among other things:

"The subject of establishing closer international relations between all the Republics of the American continent and also the Empire of Brazil, containing in the aggregate one hundred millions of people, for the purpose of improving the business intercourse between those countries and securing more extensive markets for the products of each, is both interesting and important. Sixty years ago this subject was discussed and a conference was suggested between representatives of our Government and the other Governments, and President John Quincy Adams appointed representatives to the Congress held at Panama to consider measures for promoting peace and reciprocal commercial relations between said countries. This Conference was beneficial, but at that time our people were looking more to Europe

for business and commerce than to the countries south of us, and no action was taken by our Congress. Now the United States is at peace with all the world and our population and wealth make this the foremost Republic of the world, and our Government should inaugurate the movement in favor of an American Conference.

"The present depression of business and low price of farm products are caused, to a considerable extent, by a limited market for our surplus products. Some of the best markets we can look to are not far beyond our southern border. They are nearer to us than to any other commercial nation. The people of Mexico and of Central and South America produce much that we need, and our abundant agricultural, manufactured, and mineral productions are greatly needed by them. These countries cover an area of 8,118,844 square miles, and have a population of 42,770,374. Their people recognize the superiority of our products, and desire more intimate business intercourse with our people, but the great bulk of their commerce and trade is with Europe. The Argentine Republic has from forty-five to sixty steamships running regularly between Buenos Ayres and European ports, and no regular line between that country and the United States, and our commercial facilities with the other republics of Central and South America are about the same.

"In 1884 our exports were valued at $733,768,764.

"Of this amount we exported but $64,719,000 to Mexico and South and Central America.

"Our annual mechanical and agricultural products are valued at $15,000,000,000, while we seldom have sold more than $75,000,000 worth of these products to our nearest neighbors, who buy in Europe at least five times as much as they get here.

"The total commerce of the countries named in 1883 was as follows: Imports, $331,100,599; exports, $391,294,781.

"Of the $331,100,599 of merchandise sold to those countries, the share of the United States was only $42,598,469; yet we are their closest neighbor.

"The disparity of our trade with Peru, Chili, Argentine Republic and Brazil is both amazing and humiliating.

To	From Great Britain.	From United States.
Peru	$6,235,685	$743,105
Chili	11,060,880	2,211,007
Argentine Republic	29,692,295	4,317,293
Brazil	33,946,215	7,317,293

"The consumption of cotton goods in Central and South America and in Mexico amounts to nearly $100,000,000 annually, and although they are so near our cotton-fields, England furnishes about 95 per cent. of these goods.

"Cotton fabrics constitute the wearing apparel of nearly three-fourths of those people, and they have to import all they use.

"England monopolizes this trade because of her cheap transportation facilities, and because her mills furnish goods especially adapted to the wants and tastes of the consumers, which our mills have never attempted to produce.

"It is very important that transportation facilities between the United States and her southern neighbors should be improved; for as long as the freight from Liverpool, Hamburg and Bordeaux is $15 a ton, they cannot be induced to pay $40 a ton to bring merchandise from the United States.

"There is not a commercial city in these countries where the manufacturers of the United States cannot compete with

their European rivals in every article we produce for export.

"The report of the South American Commission shows, by the testimony of the importing merchants of those countries, that aside from the difference in cost and convenience in transporting, it is to their advantage to buy in the United States, because the quality of our products is superior, and our prices are usually as low as those of Europe."

AN OPPOSING VIEW.

Mr. Belmont presented a minority, and opposing, report to the above bill. In discussing it from a commercial standpoint, he made quite prominent a fact, if not a principle, though unintended on his part, that was fully recognized when reciprocity was introduced into the Tariff Act of 1890. He said:

"Nothing is now so desirable for our own people as a free and reciprocal interchange of products between ourselves and the people of other nations on this continent. But what now hinders such free interchange so much as our tariff laws? If this Government shall invite Brazil, Mexico and the Republics of Central America and South America to join us in a conference to promote such free and reciprocal interchange of products, what concessions in our tariff schedules is the President to be authorized to instruct our commissioners to propose on our part? The question of our own tariff will naturally and immediately come up for discussion and consideration. Shall, for example, our commissioners be authorized to offer to the Argentine Republic to admit its wool into our ports free of duty?

"No one can be more sensible than I am of the great advantages which in our country flow from that free commercial intercourse, unvexed by tariffs or custom-houses, which

the Federal Constitution secures. I wish by some possible and wise contrivance those advantages now enjoyed by and between Maine and California, Florida and Alaska, could be realized by and between every nation and every producer on this hemisphere from Baffin's Bay to Cape Horn. But is this Government now in condition to successfully ask in a diplomatic way the accomplishment of such a result? To use Mr. Gladstone's language, should we not first of all begin to govern ourselves in tariff matters with 'justice and moderation?' And then, too, does opinion in this House tend to tolerate a reform or protective system by treaties?

"One of the difficulties with which we in the United States have now to contend is that, by reason of our present tariff laws, we cannot in our own workshops compete with European manufacturers, notwithstanding the great advantage we have from the efficiency of better paid and better educated labor. So long as such tariff laws shall be maintained it is not believed that any diplomatic negotiations will enable the United States to do in the Dominion of Canada, or in Mexico, or in Central America, or in South America what we cannot do at home—which is to compete with European manufacturers. Freedom to *buy* in these communities we now have, and we can enlarge its use to any degree, but freedom to *sell* to those communities we can only enlarge by producing equally good articles which we will sell at least as cheaply as our European competitors. All schemes whatever for retaining a protective system and gaining foreign markets are impossible of success, no matter how many railways we may build or steamships we may subsidize. It will be seen from the statistics already given that a large part of the products of our neighbors to the south of us are now admitted at our custom-houses free of duty, but the difficulty of increasing the exports of our

HON. JAMES L. PUGH.

Born in Burke co., Ga., December 12, 1820; moved early to Alabama, and received academic education; admitted to bar in 1841, and acquired a lucrative practice; elected to 36th Congress, but withdrew when State seceded; served in Confederate army; elected to Confederate Congress, 1861–63; resumed law practice at Eufaula; member of Convention that framed State Constitution in 1875; elected to U. S. Senate in 1880; re-elected 1884 and 1890; member of Committees on Education and Labor, Judiciary, Privileges and Elections, Revolutionary Claims and Canadian Relations.

manufactured products to those countries remains, because our protective tariff inflicts what, owing to the increased cost of manufacture, is in effect *an export tax* upon our products, which frustrates the efforts of our enterprising and inventive people to have more complete possession of the neighboring markets upon this continent."

ARGUMENTS FOR RECIPROCITY.

It was not until May 6, 1886, that Senator Frye's bill, before alluded to, was reported to the Senate by the Committee on Foreign Relations. Its provisions were very like those of the McCreary bill. It was accompanied by a still more elaborate report than that in the House, which report included the reports made from time to time by the commissioners who had visited the Central and South American countries. This report, or, rather, these reports, left little to be added upon the propriety of an international conference, and the necessity for reciprocity in trade and commerce. We first use the language of Commissioner Thacher :—

"The peculiarities of the Latin race in America lead it away from manufacturing pursuits. Valencia centuries ago imported wool from England and returned it in cloths, but the process is now reversed.

"Great Britain manufactures for the world, and Spain, with all the colonies she planted, contributes to her commercial supremacy.

"In Spain there is cheap fuel and plenty of water-power. In Spanish America, from Mexico to Magellan, there are few coal-fields, but almost everywhere flowing streams, furnishing the cheapest and most abundant power.

"Guatemala, Costa Rica, the western slopes of the Andes, Uruguay, and portions of the Argentine Republic have un-

failing and enormous stores of this easily-used motor. Yet in Costa Rica I saw only two water-driven mills; in Guatemala there were a few more; yet not one-thousandth part of the water-power was utilized. The Rimac for nearly 70 miles is a dashing cascade, with only a tannery, a brewery, and possibly a few other industries at Lima holding in check for a few minutes its rushing flood.

"Chili in the Mopocho and the Maipo has powerful streams, and hundreds of smaller water-courses find their way to the ocean.

"The report from Uruguay calls attention to its internal water-power, and the statements submitted with the report from the Argentine Republic show how immense is the water-power in the Gran Chaco region.

"We must conclude, then, that the want of manufactured products in these countries grows out of either or both of two causes; the one a disinclination to take up the patient, steady routine of daily toil necessary to successful manufacturing, and the other a greater profitableness in other more congenial pursuits.

"Without dwelling on the point, I may say that it is safe to aver that these countries will for years be great consumers of foreign manufactured goods.

"In Chili the war with Peru demoralized the soldiers, many of whom were taken from the ordinary pursuits, and, returning from their conquest, failed to take up the peaceful avocations they left; and yet Chili is beyond doubt in manufactories the New England of South America. The special report on this country fully covers this question.

"In any trade relations we may establish with those countries we may reasonably count on the permanence of the demand for our goods.

"The larger portion of the commerce we are seeking has

been in the hands of Great Britain, but of recent years another, and what promises to be a more formidable rival, has come to the front.

"The German manufacturers, intrenched behind encouraging and protecting legislative walls, have pushed their products far beyond the home demand. Always sure of their own market without competition, they have turned their unflagging energies to secure centers of trade in the Western Hemisphere. They are clever imitators of every new invention, of every improved machine, and of many of the most useful and popular goods produced in the United States. They send out counterfeits of the famous 'Collins' wares, even to the very brand; they make mowers and agricultural implements as nearly like ours as possible. Our sewing-machines are copied by these people, and the imitations are palmed off on the South American trade as coming from the United States. The character and ways of these new rivals for the trade of our neighbors is thus graphically portrayed by our former consul-general in Mexico, Mr. Strother, and I may add that what the German is in Mexico he is in all the other Central and South American nations.

"General Strother says:

"'For the rest it will still remain with American manufacturers and merchants to solve the question of successful competition with their European rivals, the most formidable of whom at present are the Germans, whose commercial establishments are more substantially planted and more widely extended than those of any other foreign nation. And it may be well here to note their methods and the causes of their success. The German who comes to Mexico to establish himself in business is carefully educated for the purpose, not only in the special branch which he proposes

to follow, but he is also an accomplished linguist, being generally able to converse and correspond in the four great commercial languages—German, English, French, and Spanish. His enterprise is usually backed by large capital in the mother country. He does not come to speculate, or inflated with the hope of acquiring sudden fortune, but expecting to succeed in time by close attention, patient labor and economy, looking forward twenty, thirty, or even forty years for the realization of his hopes. He builds up his business as one builds a house, brick by brick, and with a solid foundation. He can brook delays, give long credits, sustain reverses, and tide over dull times. He never meddles with the politics of the country; keeps on good terms with its governors, whoever they may be. He rarely makes complaints through his minister or consul, but if caught evading the revenue laws, or in other illegal practices, he pays his fine and goes on with his business. With these methods and characteristics, the German merchant generally succeeds in securing wealth and the respect of any community in which he may have established himself.'

"In a conversation with the British minister, Sir Spencer St. John, in Mexico, he observed to me that the success of the Germans in dealing with the revenue officials and in pushing their trade had driven out of Mexico every wholesale English house, whereas the foreign commerce was once largely in the hands of his countrymen.

"In passing from this point we must not forget that notwithstanding all this copying of our productions by the German manufacturer, yet the deception deceives few, and that were the markets open to our dealers the superior material, workmanship, and fidelity of our goods would defy all competition.

"The French, equally protected by home legislation and

HON. JOHN M. PALMER.

Born in Scott co., Ky., September 13, 1817; moved to Illinois, 1831; studied at Alton College; admitted to bar, 1839; elected Probate Judge of Macoupin co., 1843; member of Constitutional Convention, 1847; elected County Judge, 1848; elected to State Senate, 1852; elected to State Senate, 1855, as Anti-Nebraska Democrat; Delegate to Republican National Convention, 1856; candidate for Congress, 1859, on Republican ticket and defeated; member of Peace Conference, 1861; entered Union army (1861) as Colonel of 14th Illinois Regiment; promoted to Brigadier General, 1861; promoted to Major General, 1863; commanded 14th Army Corps, 1863; operated on Mississippi, with army of Cumberland and with Sherman to Atlanta; elected Governor of Illinois, 1868; nominated for Governor on Democratic ticket, 1888, and defeated; elected U. S. Senator, as Democrat, 1891.

alive to the wants of the South American markets, are increasing their trade there.

"Indeed we must meet in the ports of our neighbors the wares of many of the European countries, all of which are borne to their destination in vessels flying their own national ensign."

FURTHER ARGUMENTS.

Mr. Reynolds, another of the Commissioners, discussed the reciprocal trade idea still more ably and exhaustively, and in fact left the matter in such shape as that the system of practical reciprocity incorporated into the Act of 1890 was the inevitable outcome of his logic. He says:

"Among the means to secure more intimate commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America, suggested in the first report of the Commission to those States (transmitted by the President to Congress on February 13, 1885, and printed as Ex. Doc. No. 226), were the following (p. 4): 'Commercial treaties with actual and equivalent reciprocal concessions in tariff duties.' As the words 'actual and equivalent, were adopted at my suggestion, an explanation of their full force may not be superfluous. A stipulation in a treaty that certain products of one country shall be admitted free, or at a reduced duty, into another country, may, on paper, appear to offer a reciprocal concession for a like admission of certain other products of the latter country into the former. But the seeming effect of it may be neutralized in various ways, so that it will be, to the one country or the other, not an actual concession. Chief among those ways are, the existence of treaties with other nations, placing them on the footing of the 'most favored nation,' export duties, home bounties, drawbacks, monopolies, and muni-

cipal or other local taxation. The skill of the diplomatist, aided by information from consuls, merchants, shippers, and other experts in the question, should be exerted to frame the treaty so as to prevent the defeat of its real object by such collateral disadvantages and burdens. To explain them, or point out modes of removing them, severally, would unduly extend the length of this letter.

"But one of them, the 'most favored nation clause,' deserves special consideration. It is understood that Great Britain, Germany, and probably other countries, claim that a reciprocity treaty with the United States by a Spanish American country applies to them, under that clause in their treaties with the last-mentioned country, with the same effect as if their names had been in the treaty instead of or along with that of the United States. For example, should the United States, resuming import duties on coffee, grant to Brazil freedom from them, on the 'reciprocal concession' that flour and certain American manufactures should be admitted free into that Empire, Great Britain, which consumes very little coffee of any kind, and probably none from Brazil, would claim the same freedom for her like manufactures. Thus, in return for our being customers of Brazil, in coffee to the amount of about $50,000,000 annually, Great Britain, offering no 'equivalent' concession in fact, would still be able to drive (or rather, keep) us out of the Brazilian market for those manufactures which she can supply more cheaply or with greater facility through her lines of steamers.

"After much thought on the subject, I have found no surer mode of making reciprocity 'equivalent' than by expressing in the treaty itself, and as a condition of it, the real object of every reciprocity treaty, the actual and equivalent increase of the commerce between the parties to it. For

illustration, should the United States make a reciprocity treaty with Spain for certain concessions designed to increase our exports to Cuba, in consideration of a reduction of our duties on Cuban sugars, the treaty should provide, that that reduction should exist only as long as Cuba imported from the United States at least a certain fixed amount in value annually, and Spain might justly require a like condition as to the annual amount of our imports of Cuban sugars. The custom-house returns of the two countries would readily fix the respective amounts, and the reciprocity of the treaty, whenever it ceased to be actual and equivalent, could be suspended by a proclamation of the President, on due notice to be provided for in the treaty.

"As it is undeniable, and even generally admitted, that the 'most favored nation clause' entitles a country having the privilege of it to be merely 'on all fours' with any other nation, and share the advantages of it only on the identical conditions accompanying them, such a proviso as that above mentioned would effectually block the diplomatic game which Germany is understood to have played upon us in Mexico, by claiming for herself the benefits of our recent reciprocity treaty with that Republic. Taking, in fact, no sugar and little tobacco or anything else from Mexico, she sagaciously offers to remit her duties on them, and claims for her exports to that Republic, mainly in manufactures, the same concessions it made to the United States in order to increase the exports of its own products to our country. With such a proviso as that above suggested, Germany would be beaten on her own diplomatic ground. Mexico would be obligated by the 'most favored nation clause' only to offer to Germany the same treaty, *mutatis mutandis*, her name taking the place of that of the United States. As her imports from Mexico would not compare with ours, such a

treaty would give her no actual advantage over us. So, also, with Cuba in her commerce with Germany, and probably, also, with Great Britain and France. No one of those countries (France and Germany making their own beet-root sugar, and Great Britain being supplied principally by her own colonies) would be able to take from Cuba the amount of sugars which would be the treaty 'equivalent' for the concessions made to the United States.

"Another important consideration in deciding what kind of a reciprocity treaty to make, or whether to make it at all, is the effect it would have on some equally advantageous indirect trade. By driving out of some South American market some other country which trades with us, we may diminish the purchasing power of that country in our own markets, and increased indirect trade with the former may not compensate us for a loss of trade with the latter. In this connection, the effect of several misused terms is to be deprecated. Generally when our imports from and exports to any particular country do not balance at all, the very bad English is common of speaking of a 'balance of trade' for or against us. It is refreshing to notice that in the reports of our Bureau of Statistics that improper phrase is discarded, and the difference between exports and imports is described as an excess of one over the other. An excess of imports over exports in a particular venture may represent a gain, and not a loss. A familiar illustration is that of a Boston ship which, in former times, would take a cargo belonging to the ship's owner, worth, say, $100,000, to China, and return with one, also belonging to the same owner, worth twice the amount. The difference, being the returns for the expenses of the voyage, the profit in China on the original venture, and that in Boston on the return cargo, would be all gain. The same may be the case with the entire com-

HON. WILLIAM E. RUSSELL.

Born in Cambridge, Mass., January 6, 1857; graduated at Harvard, 1877, and later from Boston University Law School; admitted to Suffolk bar in 1880; elected to Common Council, 1882, and to Board of Aldermen in 1884; elected Mayor, 1886, 1887, 1888; nominated for Governor, as Democrat, in 1888; defeated; nominated in 1889; defeated; nominated in 1890; elected by 8,953 plurality; re-elected Governor in 1892 by a plurality of 6,457; distinguished at the bar and as an exponent of advanced and liberal Democracy; an able orator, impartial executive, and popular with all parties.

merce of one country with another, as could be amply shown from the statistics of British trade with Asia, given in Mr. Frelinghuysen's letter on the 'Commerce of the world.' Of course, in some other special case it might be otherwise.

"Another very general error is to treat an excess of imports over exports in our trade with a particular country as a difference which we pay in cash. This is rarely, if ever, the case. It is usually paid in exchange on some other country, obtained by selling to it our own products. Brazil affords a very fair illustration. We take from that Empire directly products many millions in value in excess of what we send directly to it. That excess is paid for by exchange on London, based on our exports of provisions, cotton, etc., and with that exchange the Brazilian pays for English manufactures to be sent to Rio. The indirect trade may be different. The Englishman may sell his manufactures in Brazil, convert the proceeds directly, or indirectly by purchase of exchange, into coffee, with the proceeds of which in New York he purchases provisions to be sent to England. In either case the result is the same. England gains some profit in exchange, as London is the world's money centre, and in freights which her ships carry. But to the extent to which England is crippled in her sales to Brazil, her purchasing power in our provision markets may be diminished.

"Therefore, before making a reciprocity treaty, we should carefully consider, in each particular case, whether, even with the profits in exchange and shipping in a direct trade, we may not be losing a more profitable commerce in a different direction, by diminishing the power of others of our regular customers to purchase products from us."

A STILL FURTHER VIEW.

Mr. Curtis, Secretary of the Commission and afterwards a

Commissioner, added a very interesting report, which still further elaborated the necessity for reciprocal trade. He said:—

"During the last twenty years the value of the exports from the United States to the Spanish Americans was $442,048,975, and during that time we purchased of them raw products to the amount of $1,185,828,579, showing an excess of imports during the twenty years amounting to $765,992,219, which was paid in cash. It will thus be seen that our commerce with Central and South America has left a very large balance on the wrong side of the ledger, while those countries have all the time been buying in Europe the very merchandise we have for sale. Being the very reverse of the United States in climate and resources, they constitute our natural commercial allies, and the exchange should at least be even; but they sell their raw products here and buy their manufactured articles in Europe. The principal reason for this is that the carrying trade is in the hands of Englishmen. The statistics show, that, of the total imports into the United States from Spanish America, which, in 1884, amounted to $159,000,000, three-fourths were carried in foreign vessels. Of our exports to those countries, amounting last year to $64,000,000, $46,000,000 were carried in American vessels, while only $18,000,000 were carried by foreign vessels. It will thus be seen that nearly everything we buy is brought to us from Spanish America by Englishmen, while nearly everything we sell we have to carry there ourselves. The logic of these facts is irresistible.

"The most absurd spectacle in the commercial world is the trade we carry on with Brazil. We buy nearly all her raw products, while she spends the money we pay for them in England and France.

"In 1884, of the exports of Brazil $50,266,000 went to

the United States, $29,000,000 to England, and $24,000,000 to France. Of the imports of Brazil in 1884, $35,000,000 came from England, $15,000,000 from France, and $8,000,000 from the United States.

"Another peculiar feature of this commerce was that of the exports of Brazil to the United States $32,000,000 were carried in English vessels and $9,000,000 in American vessels, while of her imports from the United States $6,000,000 were carried in American vessels and only $2,000,000 in English vessels. The trade is carried on by triangular voyages. Two lines of steamships sailing under the British flag load every week at Rio for New York. Arriving at the latter port they place their cargoes of coffee and hides in the hands of commission merchants, and sail for Europe, where they draw against these consignments, and buy Manchester cotton, Birmingham hardware, and other goods which they carry to Brazil. During the last twenty years this absurd spectacle has cost the United States $600,000,000, every cent of which has gone into the pockets of English and French manufacturers. We have not only paid for the goods that England has sold Brazil, but as we have had no banking connections with that country and no ships on the sea, nearly every ton of this commerce has paid a tax to English bankers and vessel-owners.

"Several years ago, when we removed the import tax on coffee, Brazil put an export duty on, so that the attempt of Congress to secure a cheap breakfast for the workingman simply resulted in diverting several million dollars from the treasury of the United States into the treasury of Brazil, without changing the price of the article. Mexico and the countries washed by the Caribbean Sea produce a better quality of coffee than is grown in Brazil, and if the United States Government would consent to discriminate against

Brazilian coffee, raised by slave labor, the nations of Central America and the Spanish Main would reciprocate by admitting free to their ports our flour, lumber, provisions, lard, dairy products, kerosene, and other articles which are now kept from the common people by an almost prohibitory tariff.

"Brazil is in such a critical condition, financially and commercially, that if we did not buy her coffee it would rot on the trees, and the Englishmen who control her foreign commerce would have to close their warehouses and throw all the Brazilian planters into the bankrupt court. These Englishmen have secured mortgages upon the plantations of Brazil by supplying the planters with merchandise on credit and taking the crop at the end of the season in payment; but as the crop seldom pays the advances, the mortgages have been lapping over upon the plantations, until now the Englishmen have the Brazilians by the throat, making their own terms, charging one profit on the merchandise sold, another as interest on the advances, a third on the coffee purchased, and a fourth as interest on payments deferred, while they make three profits out of us: first, on coffee they sell us; second, on transportation charges; third, in discounting our bills on London.

"The greater part of our exports to Spanish America go to Mexico and the West Indies. Deducting these from the total, it will be found that we buy over 30 per cent. of what the South American countries have for sale, and furnish them only 6 per cent. of their imports. The balance of trade goes on piling up at the rate of nearly $100,000,000 a year. This was not always so. Twenty years ago more than half the commerce of this hemisphere was controlled by the merchants of New York, Boston, and Baltimore, and more than half the ships in its harbors sailed from those

ports. Now only a small percentage of the carrying trade is done in American bottoms, while English ship-owners who control the transportation facilities permit the Spanish-American merchants to buy in this country only such goods as they cannot obtain elsewhere.

"The cause of this astonishing phenomenon is our neglect to furnish the ways and means of commerce. We can no more prevent trade following facilities for communication than we can repeal the law of gravity. While we have been pointing with pride at our internal development, England and France have been stealing our markets away from us. The problem of recovering them is easy of solution. The States of Central and South America will buy what we have to sell if intelligent measures are used to cultivate the markets and means are provided for the delivery of the goods.

"The Spanish-American nations seek political intimacy with the United States, and look to this, the mother of republics, for example and encouragement. They recognize and assert the superiority of our products. They offer and pay subsidies to our ships. Brazil now pays $100,000 a year as a subsidy to an American steamship line, while the United States Government paid only $4,000 last year to the same line for carrying our mails. The Argentine Republic had a law upon its statute-books representing a standing offer of a subsidy of 96,000 silver dollars a year to any company that will establish a steamship line between Buenos Ayres and New York, under the American flag, and at the same time has twenty-one lines of steamships, sailing from forty-five to sixty vessels a month, between Buenos Ayres and the ports of Europe, to which it pays nothing. We have no steamship communication with the Argentine Republic whatever. During the last year, out of the millions of tons of shipping represented in the harbor

of that metropolis, there were no steamers from the United States, and our flag was seen upon but 2 per cent. of the sailing vessels. Here is a nation purchasing in Europe $70,000,000 worth of merchandise every year, and only spending about $4,000,000 in the United States, and these $4,000,000 represent articles, such as petroleum, lumber, lard and other pork products, which could not elsewhere be obtained."

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The Senate passed the Frye bill on June 17, 1886, but it did not become a law until May 24, 1888, when the INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE became a possibility.

It was for this Conference to give wider, fuller, more learned and disinterested consideration to the question of trade relations and reciprocal commerce between the American nations than ever before. It was called by the President to meet in Washington, October 2, 1889. Invitations were duly issued, and the Conference met with delegates present from Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chili, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Hayti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Hon. James G. Blaine was elected President of the Conference. It remained in session until April, 1890, and discussed and reported upon all the subjects prescribed in the Act authorizing the call, to wit:—

Plan of Arbitration; Reciprocity Treaties; Inter-Continental Railway; Steamship Communication; Sanitary Regulations; Customs Regulations; Common Silver Coin; Patents and Trade Marks; Weights and Measures; Port Dues; International Laws; Extradition Treaties; International Bank.

In the discussions upon "Reciprocity Treaties," all of which were very able and interesting, two lines of thought appeared. That which represented all of the countries except Argentine and Chili, was in the direction of reciprocity, whose advantages were conceded, and whose practical operation needed but the encouragement of some acceptable concession on the part of the United States. The thought of Argentine and Chili seemed to be that reciprocity was impracticable, unless enlarged to suit the world, and that the United States was not yet so commercially strong, or was too hampered with her tariff system to offer the necessary concessions to all the nations. The attitude and the logic of these two States were fully met by the delegates of the United States in the Conference, showing in detail that the first stage of national growth is agricultural, the second is manufacturing, and the third is commercial. The first two stages with us have been reached, and we now enter upon the third. The same restless energy, the same enterprise, and the same inventive genius which gave success to agriculture and manufactures will mark the development of commerce.

"The spirit of enterprise begins to spread like contagion into Central America. Imagination already paints on her canals the commerce of the world. The locomotive is there a messenger of peace, the steel rail a bond of friendship.

"Colombia and Venezuela and Brazil and Ecuador and Peru already feel the irresistible impulse which impels to a closer union. The Argentine and Chili may hesitate for a time, but finally they too will join hands with their sister Republics, and joyfully assist to fulfil the bright destiny that awaits us all."

CONFERENCE REPORT AND BLAINE'S REVIEW.

The Conference adopted a Report which recognized the policy of reciprocity and the "need of closer and more reciprocal commercial relations among American States." Secretary Blaine submitted this Report to the President, June 19, 1890, with an exhaustive review of its contents. This review was so exhaustive, and is, moreover, such an important part of the literature of reciprocity, that inability to publish it here in full, for lack of space, is greatly regretted. But its gist was that out of a total of $233,000,000 imports furnished to Chili and Argentine alone in 1888, England contributed $90,000,000, Germany $43,000,000, France $34,000,000, the United States only $13,000,000, and this, notwithstanding the facts that our ports were nearest, and the bulk of those imports were of articles we were actually manufacturing better and as cheaply as foreign nations.

That in 1868 our total exports were $375,737,000, of which $53,197,000, or 14 per cent., went to Spanish America, while in 1888 our total exports were $742,368,000, of which $69,273,000, or only 9 per cent., went to Spanish America.

That it was the unanimous judgment of the delegates that our exports to these countries and the other Republics could be increased to a great extent by the negotiations of proper reciprocity treaties.

That lack of means for reaching their markets was the chief obstacle in the way of increased exports. The carrying trade has been controlled by European merchants who have forbidden an exchange of commodities. Under liberal encouragement from the government and the establishment of regular steamship lines, France increased her exports to South America from $8,292,000 in 1880 to $22,996,000 in 1888. By the same means Germany increased her exports

HON. JERRY SIMPSON.

Born in province of New Brunswick, Canada, March 31, 1842; moved with parents to Oneida county, N. Y., 1848; at fourteen became a sailor, and followed sea for twenty-three years, being captain of large vessels on Great Lakes; served for a time in Company A 12th Illinois Volunteers; settled in Kansas, near Medicine Lodge, 1878; became large farmer and stock raiser; united with Greenback and Union Labor party; twice defeated for Kansas Legislature; nominated for Fifty-second Congress by People's Party and supported by Democrats in Seventh Kansas District; elected by over 7000 majority.

to South America from $2,365,000 in 1880 to $13,310,000 in 1888.

That the Conference believes that while great profit would come to all countries under reciprocity treaties, the United States would be far the greatest gainer, and that especially since 87 per cent. of our imports from those countries came in duty free, while nearly all our exports to them were heavily dutiable at their ports, in some cases to the extent of prohibition.

That increased exports would draw alike from our farms, factories and forests, such being the character of the articles required by those countries. A steamer load from New York to Rio Janeiro, which was traced to its origin, as to the articles which comprised it, showed that thirty-six of our States and Territories had contributed to the cargo.

That, excepting raw cotton, our four largest exports are breadstuffs, provisions, petroleum and lumber. In 1889 our export of these articles was:—Breadstuffs, $123,876,423, of which only $5,123,528 went to Latin America; Provisions, $104,122,328, of which only $2,507,375 went thither; Petroleum, $44,830,424, of which $2,948,149 went thither; Lumber, $26,907,000, of which $5,039,886 went thither. Since the United States is almost the only source of supply for these articles, which rank as necessaries of life, and there are 50,000,000 of population in Latin America, the advantages of a direct and larger trade are apparent.

That fifteen of the seventeen Republics in the Conference indicated their desire to enter upon reciprocal commercial relations with the United States; the remaining two expressed equal willingness, could they be assured that their advances would be favorably considered.

That to "escape the delay and uncertainty of treaties it

has been suggested that a practicable and prompt mode of testing the question was to submit an amendment to the pending tariff bill, authorizing the President to declare the ports of the United States free to all the products of any nation of the American hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever and so long as such nation shall admit to its ports free of all national, provincial (state), municipal, and other taxes, our flour, corn-meal, and other breadstuffs, preserved meats, fish, vegetables and fruits, cotton-seed oil, rice and other provisions, including all articles of food, lumber, furniture and other articles of wood, agricultural implements and machinery, mining and mechanical machinery, structural steel and iron, steel rails, locomotives, railway cars and supplies, street cars, and refined petroleum. These particular articles are mentioned because they have been most frequently referred to as those with which a valuable exchange could be readily effected. The list could no doubt be profitably enlarged by a careful investigation of the needs and advantages of both the home and foreign markets.

"The opinion was general among the foreign delegates that the legislation herein referred to would lead to the opening of new and profitable markets for the products of which we have so large a surplus, and thus invigorate every branch of agricultural and mechanical industry. Of course the exchanges involved in these propositions would be rendered impossible if Congress in its wisdom should repeal the duty on sugar by direct legislation, instead of allowing the same object to be attained by the reciprocal arrangement suggested."

RECIPROCITY AND THE ACT OF 1890.

We have now reached a period in the history of reciprocity when it was to be given practical application, out-

side of the usual form of prolix and uncertain treaty, and in the form of a specific enactment or declaration. The proposition, just above noted, to incorporate it as a policy in our Tariff laws, was at first received with misgivings by the most ardent friends of protection. They doubted the propriety of introducing it into strictly tariff legislation, lest it might endanger the success of such legislation, or at least subtract from the strength and efficacy of some of the protective doctrines.

But the matter was persistently urged upon the attention of those who had the Tariff Act of 1890 in charge. The more it was studied the more it grew in favor. The literature bearing upon it, the facts it embraced, the theories and promises involved, proved startling and convincing. The administration saw that it could well afford to accept it as a measure and abide by its consequences. Political lines began to harden respecting it, and the one party shrank not from its advocacy nor the other from attack upon it. Thus it ripened, and the Tariff Act of 1890 became its opportunity, not only as to time, but as to the fact that the contemplated enlargement of the free list, by the removal of millions of duties from sugars and other articles, would provide the concessions to other nations necessary for a fair and perhaps successful trial of it, in the proposed way.

At last it found its place in the pending Tariff Act—the Tariff Act of 1890—as Section 3 of the Free List. It reads:—

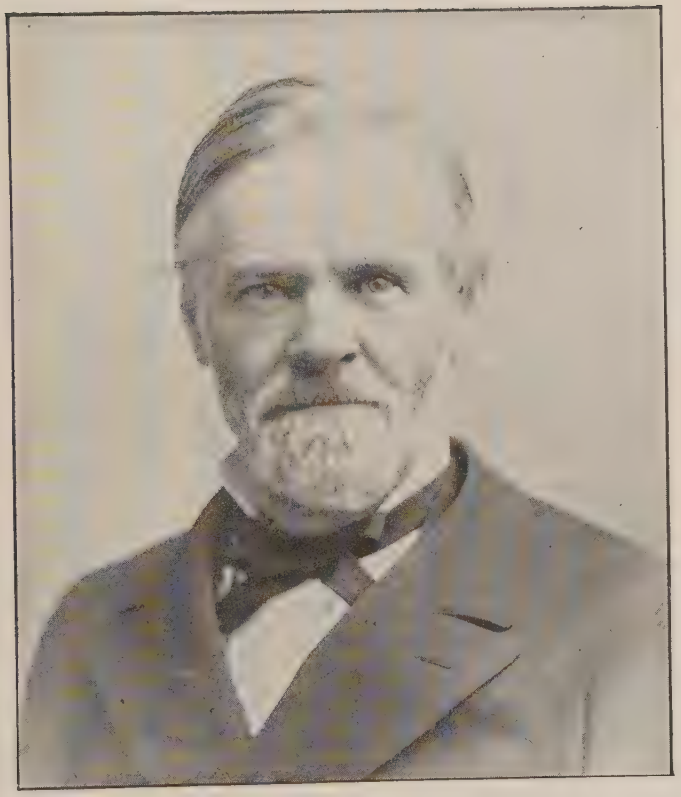
"That with a view to secure reciprocal trade with countries producing the following articles, and for this purpose, on and after the first day of January, 1892, whenever and so often as the President shall be satisfied that the government of any country producing and exporting sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides raw and uncured, or any of such

articles, imposes duties or other exactions upon the agricultural or other products of the United States, which in view of the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides into the United States he may deem to be reciprocally unequal and unreasonable, he shall have the power, and it shall be his duty to suspend, by proclamation to that effect, the provisions of this Act relating to the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides, the production of such country, for such time as he shall deem just, and in such case and during such suspension duties shall be levied, collected and paid upon sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides, the product of or exported from such designated country, as follows:—"

Here follow the rates in detail, the rate on sugar being from 7-10th of a cent per pound to 2 cents per pound according to test; on molasses 4 cents a gallon; on coffee 3 cents per pound; on tea 10 cents per pound; and on hides 1½ cents per pound.

APPLIED RECIPROCITY.

By the middle of March, 1892 (March 15), all the countries of the American Continent south of the United States had either assented to the doctrine of reciprocal trade as incorporated in the McKinley Act of 1890, or had entered into negotiations which looked to a speedy acceptance of the doctrine, with the exceptions of Venezuela, Hayti and Colombia. The refusal of these three to join in reciprocity as offered by the Act of 1890 led to an event which marked the second stage of the reciprocity policy. Their refusal being complete, for the time being at least, President Harrison, under the powers conferred upon him by the Act, issued his proclamation to them, imposing on their sugars, molasses, coffees, teas and raw hides, exported to the United



HON. JOHN SHERMAN.

Born at Lancaster, Ohio, May 10, 1823; academically educated; studied law and admitted to bar, May 11, 1844; delegate to Whig National Conventions, 1848 and 1852; President of first Republican in Ohio, 1855; elected to 34th, 35th, 36th and 37th Congresses; elected, as Republican, to United States Senate, March, 1861; re-elected to same, 1866 and 1872; appointed Secretary of Treasury, by President Hayes, March, 1877, and served till March 3, 1881; distinguished for advocacy of resumption and success in refunding United States debt; re-elected to Senate for term beginning March 4, 1881, and again in 1886 and 1892; Chairman of Committee on Foreign Relations and member of Committees on Finance, Rules, etc.

States and entered at its ports, the duties provided for in the Act, which duties were, as to sugars and molasses, less than under the Act of 1883, or the Mills Bill, and amounted to three cents a pound on coffee, ten cents a pound on tea, and one and one half cents per pound on hides.

These duties, therefore, as to coffee, tea and hides, became really discriminative, for these articles were, and had been for a long time, upon the free list of the United States. They were ratably discriminative as to sugar and molasses, which articles had just gone upon our free list; but then, these three countries did not export sugar to the United States.

In order to meet this stage of the reciprocity policy, those who opposed it with the objection that the Act of 1890 was unconstitutional, as conferring upon the Executive powers which belonged wholly to the Legislative branch of the government, carried a test case into the United States Supreme Court. That tribunal decided that the power conferred upon the President by the Act was not unconstitutional, that the Congress had legislated as clearly respecting the duties to be imposed upon the products of dissenting countries as it had in the regular schedules of the Act, and that the only exceptional feature of the legislation, which was that the President should be left to ascertain the date when a country refused to accept reciprocity, was not fatal to the Act, since it was a fact only which had to be ascertained, and a fact which would have to be ascertained out of the State Department in any event.

At this stage, too, reciprocity met renewed and active opposition in the form of arguments as to its cost to the people of this country. The exports to the United States of the three dissenting countries were, in 1890, as follows:—

	Coffee.	*Hides.*
Venezuela	$9,662,207	$812,347
Colombia	1,849,441	630,099
Hayti	1,270,247	30,391
	$12,781,895	$1,472,837

Taking the above item of coffee, which represented an export of about 76,000,000 pounds, these opponents argued that this quantity of coffee, which was about fifteen per cent. of our entire annual supply—500,000,000 pounds—would, at three cents a pound, subject our people to a tax of $2,280,000 per annum.

To this the friends of reciprocity answered:—that if this duty of three cents a pound were levied upon these coffees it would prove not only discriminating but prohibitory, for these countries could not afford to compete with other coffee-growing countries in a market which was free to them. Therefore, in as much as no coffee could come to us from these dissenting countries, our people would have no duties to pay. But, said the opposition, in that event our annual supply of coffee will be reduced, and we will have to pay more for what does come. To this the answer was, that there is no market for those coffees except in the United States, and that as they would have to come here ultimately, the only condition upon which they could be marketed was by the payment of the duty by the producers; that is to say, they would have to throw off the duty in order to enter the market on the same footing as other countries. And the further answer was given, that even if these coffees never reached our market, the vacuum occasioned thereby would be only temporary, and would be speedily filled by Mexico, Central America and Brazil. As an assurance of this, it was pointed out that all the coffee-

growing countries, notably Brazil, that had accepted reciprocity, were already experiencing improvement in their industrial interests, and feeling the impetus of enlarged trade with the United States.

ACCEPTANCE OF RECIPROCITY.

This stage of the reciprocity policy had been anticipated by all the important sugar-producing countries, or a sufficient number of them to place ninety-five per cent. of our raw sugar supply under the regulation of reciprocity conventions. The Spanish West Indies, whence forty-two per cent. of our supply is derived, Germany, the British West Indies, Hawaii, the Philippines, San Domingo, Brazil, Austria-Hungary, France and colonies, Central America, Mexico, had either accepted reciprocity or called conventions for that purpose. Many of these countries had maintained high rates of duty against exports from the United States, some had imposed prohibitive rates, a few had forbidden altogether the entry of our products, American pork for instance, into their ports.

The concessions granted by these countries in their reciprocity conventions have resulted in opening their ports to a large class of the products of the United States, either by removing duties on them entirely, or by reducing said duties to a minimum. Germany, by her reciprocity agreement, admitted free, or at reduced rates of duty, American meats, fruits, cereals, furniture and farming utensils. France did the same thing, and so of the various countries whose commercial interests were touched by the enlargement of the free list of imports into the United States under the Act of 1890, and the introduction of the reciprocity policy as a provision of said Act.

It will require some time to demonstrate by actual figures

the permanent effects of reciprocity on the commerce of the nations interested. But figures are already attainable which point to an increase of both imports to and exports from such countries. Brazil accepted the policy of reciprocity on April 1, 1891. In nine months time, that is up to the end of December, 1891, her imports to this country showed $79,183,238, as against $52,861,398 for the corresponding nine months of 1890; while the exports from this country to Brazil showed $11,555,447, as against $10,071,871 for the same months of 1891 and 1890 respectively.

The treaty with Spain, which mostly touched upon our commerce with Cuba, took effect September 1, 1891. In the four months, ending December 31, 1891, the imports from Cuba to this country were $14,956,868, as against $11,782,023 for the corresponding four months of 1890; while the exports to Cuba were $7,063,222 in the same four months of 1891, as against $4,816,029 in the corresponding months of 1890. This decided increase of exports to Cuba took place in the face of the fact that the very high duties imposed on American wheat and flour entering Cuban ports, amounting almost to the cost of production of these articles, or even their full market price, was not fully reduced to the minimum rate agreed upon in the reciprocity treaty, till January 1, 1892.

A FAIR TRIAL NEEDED.

Whether reciprocity be a step toward free-trade, as free-traders argue, or whether a step toward more rational protection, as protectionists argue, it ought to be given such a test as will forever settle it as a safe doctrine in the new political economy which the United States of America is engaged in writing for itself and the entire Western Continent. It ought to be so tried by the fires of actual experience as to consume it entirely as a commercial policy and

HON. LELAND STANFORD.

Born in Albany co., N. Y., March 9, 1824; educated for bar and admitted at Albany, 1846; moved to Wisconsin and practiced for four years; moved to California in 1852 and entered commercial pursuits at Sacramento; delegate to Republican National Convention at Chicago, 1860; elected Governor of California, 1861; President of Central Pacific Railroad Company; largely interested in railroads, manufactures and agriculture of Pacific slope; elected to United States Senate, as Republican, in 1884; re-elected in 1890; term expires March 3, 1897; of pleasing address, broad views, and earnestness of purpose; Chairman of Committee on Public Buildings and member of Committees on Civil Service, Education and Labor, Fisheries, and Naval Affairs.

practice, if false, or establish it permanently, if true. A misfortune attending its introduction is the fact that it has been subjected to the phases of opinion and to the partisan criticisms and arguments which characterize American politics. It is really far removed from mere parties and politics, and is a matter of truly national and international import, all of whose essential features are commercial and economic.

But whatever the verdict respecting reciprocity, when fully tested, may be, the fact of its incorporation into our statutes and of its introduction into our commercial polity, is a declaration on the part of the United States that it has reached a place among enlightened, industrious, rich and progressive nations where it is no longer sufficient unto itself. The immense pressure of commercial, manufacturing and agricultural interests drives us every day more and more forward and outward into rivalry with the old and great nations that have established their markets in all parts of the world, and especially with those that have been established upon our own continent and at our very doors. Rivalry of this kind has, in times past, assumed overshadowing, and often hostile, proportions among nations anxious to gain and hold trade supremacy. It is not too much to say that a large per cent. of the five million lives and fifteen thousand millions of treasure expended by civilized nations during the past century is chargeable to their efforts to enlarge and maintain their commercial interests. This is evidence of the magnitude and value of the prize sought, as well as the manner of seeking it.

FIRMNESS REQUIRED.

Happily for our civilization, reciprocity as incorporated in our statutes proposes only a peaceful solution of commer-

cial and economic problems and an amicable assertion of our industrial supremacy and independence, if such shall come to pass under, or by reason of, it. Yet there should be no closing of eyes to the fact that the rivalry occasioned by a step which bids fair to be as momentous as that of reciprocity is not without dangers. One has but to consider the feeling evinced by the nations of Europe when the policy of reciprocity was announced in the United States, to be convinced that they would not willingly forego the advantages of trade they enjoyed with the countries to the south of us, on this continent, but that they would struggle for them with all the arts known to diplomacy, all the ingenuity born of superiority, and all the finesse bred by ages of shrewdness and self-assertion. England, especially, seemed to have been impressed with the magnitude of the new departure on the part of the United States, and with her usual astuteness earliest foresaw its effects on her markets in Central and South American countries. Her press became bitter in its denunciations of the new policy, and when the difficulty with Chile arose, the same press made it all too plain that there was concerted effort on the part of English diplomats to crush out intercourse, commercial and social, with our continental neighbor. The United States could not have gone to war with Chile, except by fighting England, either openly, or under cover of deeply disguised diplomacy. The English idea of reciprocity being that it involves the principle of *lex talionis*, or the law of revenge —"an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"—it would have been easy for her to find arguments or excuses for frustrating all our efforts toward more intimate trade relations with all South American countries. Our imbroglio with Chile made the fact almost patent that foreign nations stood ready to challenge our right to intrench on their com-

mercial domains by means of reciprocity, and their anxiety and attitude showed that they were more fully aware of the effects of reciprocity on their trade in these countries than even our wisest statesmen and shrewdest merchants had been.

WHAT EUROPE STRIVES FOR.

Heretofore, England, Germany, France and Italy had been struggling, neck and neck, for the markets of Central and South America, not to say Mexico. They had used every art and artifice known to diplomacy and commerce to head off rivalry and establish supremacy. They manufactured and priced and labelled with specific intent to occupy markets. They established lines of steamers, whose gauge and velocity were best adapted for intercourse. They subsidized ocean transit to secure dispatch. They founded banks and commercial houses. They loaned credit on most desperate securities. They sent drummers, agents and interested parties to prospect, persuade and represent. They formed huge syndicates which took possession of great interests, like the nitre beds, and worked them at immense profit. The result was that they came to own and control the markets of South America. The productions of these countries, destined for the United States, came here in the ships of Europe and by way of European ports, where they paid the rich bounty of ocean freight and the inevitable commissions for handling that the European merchant has ever been privileged to suck from the world's goods in transit. Two or three steamers a month sufficed to carry to these countries all they cared to take from us in the shape of our products. The bulk of what they had sold us—many times over and over again what we had sold them—was paid for in gold, through European houses, with another commission for handling.

Europe saw that every bill of goods we could place to our credit, in a South American port, would be deducted from her account. Hence her nervousness, her hostility. She could not, she would not, sit idly by and witness this inroad upon her trade, this disturbance of the commercial nests she had built in the Central and South American States. In affairs of this kind, and amid such conditions, affairs and conditions which concern only national pocket-books and national prestige, there is absolutely no sentiment, nothing to be hoped for from real or imaginary national condescension or sympathy. We must expect just what is sure to come, unless all history belies itself, to wit, the criticism, the antagonism, the counter efforts of the nations whose interests are touched and whose trade is threatened. We must even expect more, for conditions may arise, as they have not infrequently done, which shall require that we be prepared to hold at any cost what we have striven to obtain through ordinary diplomatic and commercial avenues, what is as much our right as a nation as it is the right of any other nation, what geographically speaking is more naturally our own than that of any nation across the sea, and what by similarity of political institutions and continental instinct is ours rather than a stranger's. It can be but a short while before the reflex action of reciprocity upon the American Republics becomes its most eloquent argument and surest guarantee of a permanent foothold. For it is destined to repeat in commerce the history which led to the Monroe Doctrine in diplomacy and politics. There may never be an American Bund, a distinctive Continental Commercial Union, but as the advantages of reciprocity with such a people as that of the United States, with a market the highest priced and richest in the world, with ports that are nearest and most accessible, come to be

fully appreciated by the American Republics, there will be such a consensus of commercial view, such a blending of trade interests, such a harmony of industrial instincts, as will surprise the older nations with its strength and efficiency.

COMMERCIAL EMANCIPATION.

When the "Monroe Doctrine," which was a broad hint to Europe that monarchical interference with the spirit of Republicanism in America might give occasion for a common cause on the part of the rising Republics against such interference, fell into seeming desuetude, it but required the French threat upon Mexico in 1864–65 to set aflame all the Republics of South America, and in Convention at Lima they made it quite plain that meddling of that kind with American affairs would result in united opposition, even to the verge of force. What, therefore, has become true in a political sense, will become equally true in a commercial sense. The year 1890 and the policy of reciprocity in American commerce are as much of a departure and as much the beginning of a continental era, looking to freedom and independence, as were the year 1824 and the Panama Congress, of which Congress Simon Bolivar said in his call:—"The day our plenipotentiaries make the exchanges of their powers will stamp in the diplomatic history of the world an immortal epoch. When, after a hundred centuries, posterity shall search for the origin of our public law, and shall remember the compacts that solidified its destiny, they will finger with respect the protocols of the Isthmus. In them they will find the plan of the first alliances that shall sketch the mark of our relations with the universe. What, then, shall be the Isthmus of Corinth as compared with the Isthmus of Panama?"

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1888.

States.	Basis of 154,325.	Votes.	Republican. Benj. Harrison, Ind.	Levi P. Morton, N. Y.	Democrat. Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	Allen G. Thurman, Ohio.
Alabama	8	10	..	..	10	10
Arkansas	5	7	..	..	7	7
California	6	8	8	8		
Colorado	1	3	3	3		
Connecticut	4	6	..	..	6	6
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
Florida	2	4	..	..	4	4
Georgia	10	12	..	..	12	12
Illinois	20	22	22	22		
Indiana	13	15	15	15		
Iowa	11	13	13	13		
Kansas	7	9	9	9		
Kentucky	11	13	..	..	13	13
Louisiana	6	8	..	..	8	8
Maine	4	6	6	6		
Maryland	6	8	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts	12	14	14	14		
Michigan	11	13	13	13		
Minnesota	5	7	7	7		
Mississippi	7	9	..	..	9	9
Missouri	14	16	..	..	16	16
Nebraska	3	5	5	5		
Nevada	1	3	3	3		
New Hampshire	2	4	4	4		
New Jersey	7	9	..	..	9	9
New York	34	36	36	36		
North Carolina	9	11	..	..	11	11
Ohio	21	23	23	23		
Oregon	1	3	3	3		
Pennsylvania	28	30	30	30		
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4		
South Carolina	7	9	..	..	9	9
Tennessee	10	12	..	..	12	12
Texas	11	13	..	..	13	13
Vermont	2	4	4	4		
Virginia	10	12	..	..	12	12
West Virginia	4	6	..	..	6	6
Wisconsin	9	11	11	11		
Totals	325	401	233	233	168	168

THE POPULAR VOTE.—Harrison, 5,438,157—20 States; Cleveland, 5,535,626—18 States; Prohibition, 250,157; Labor, 150,624.

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1884.

States.	Basis of 154,325	Votes.	Democrat. Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	Democrat. Thos. A. Hendricks, Ind.	Republican. James G. Blaine, Maine.	Republican. John A. Logan. Ill.
Alabama	8	10	10	10		
Arkansas	5	7	7	7		
California	6	8	..	..	8	8
Colorado	1	3	..	..	3	3
Connecticut	4	6	6	6		
Delaware	1	3	3	3		
Florida	2	4	4	4		
Georgia	10	12	12	12		
Illinois	20	22	..	..	22	22
Indiana	13	15	15	15		
Iowa	11	13	..	..	13	13
Kansas	7	9	..	..	9	9
Kentucky	11	13	13	13		
Louisiana	6	8	8	8		
Maine	4	6	..	..	6	6
Maryland	6	8	8	8		
Massachusetts	12	14	..	..	14	14
Michigan	11	13	..	..	13	13
Minnesota	5	7	..	..	7	7
Mississippi	7	9	9	9		
Missouri	14	16	16	16		
Nebraska	3	5	..	..	5	5
Nevada	1	3	..	..	3	3
New Hampshire	2	4	..	..	4	4
New Jersey	7	9	9	9		
New York	34	36	36	36		
North Carolina	9	11	11	11		
Ohio	21	23	..	..	23	23
Oregon	1	3	..	..	3	3
Pennsylvania	28	30	..	..	30	30
Rhode Island	2	4	..	..	4	4
South Carolina	7	9	9	9		
Tennessee	10	12	12	12		
Texas	11	13	13	13		
Vermont	2	4	..	..	4	4
Virginia	10	12	12	12		
West Virginia	4	6	6	6		
Wisconsin	9	11	..	..	11	11
Totals	325	401	219	219	182	182

POPULAR VOTE.—Cleveland, 4,911,017—States, 20; Blaine, 4,848,334—States, 18; Butler, Greenback-Labor, 133,825; St. John, Prohibition, 151,809; Scattering, 11,362.

PREVIOUS ELECTORAL VOTES.

1880.

Republican.		*Democrat.*	
James A. Garfield, O.,	214	Winfield S. Hancock, N. Y.,	155
Chester A. Arthur, N. Y.,	214	Wm. H. English, Ind.,	155

Total electoral vote, 369; 38 States.

POPULAR VOTE.—Garfield, 4,449,053—19 States; Hancock, 4,442,035—19 States; Weaver, Greenback, 308,578; Prohibition, 10,305; American, 707; Scattering, 989.

1876.

Republican.		*Democrat.*	
R. B. Hayes, Ohio,	185	S. J. Tilden, N. Y.,	184
W. A. Wheeler, N. Y.,	185	T. A. Hendricks, Ind.,	184

Total electoral vote, 369; 38 States.

POPULAR VOTE.—Hayes, 4,033,950—21 States; Tilden, 4,284,885—17 States; Cooper, Greenback, 81,740; Smith, Prohibition, 9,522; American, 539; Scattering, 14,715.

1872.

Republican.		*Democrat.*	
Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.,	286	Horace Greeley	
Henry Wilson, Mass.,	286	B. Gratz Brown	

Total electoral vote, 366; 37 States.

POPULAR VOTE.—The death of Mr. Greeley before the electoral count caused the scattering of his 66 votes among various candidates. The votes of Louisiana and Arkansas were not counted on account of fraudulent returns. Grant, 3,597,071—31 States; Greeley, 2,834,079—6 States; O'Connor, Labor, 29,408; Black, Prohibition, 5,608.

1868.

Republican.		*Democrat.*	
Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.,	214	Horatio Seymour, N. Y.,	80
Schuyler Colfax, Ind.,	214	Francis P. Blair, Mo.,	80

Total electoral vote, 317; 34 States; Mississippi, Texas and Virginia still in rebellion, and not voting.

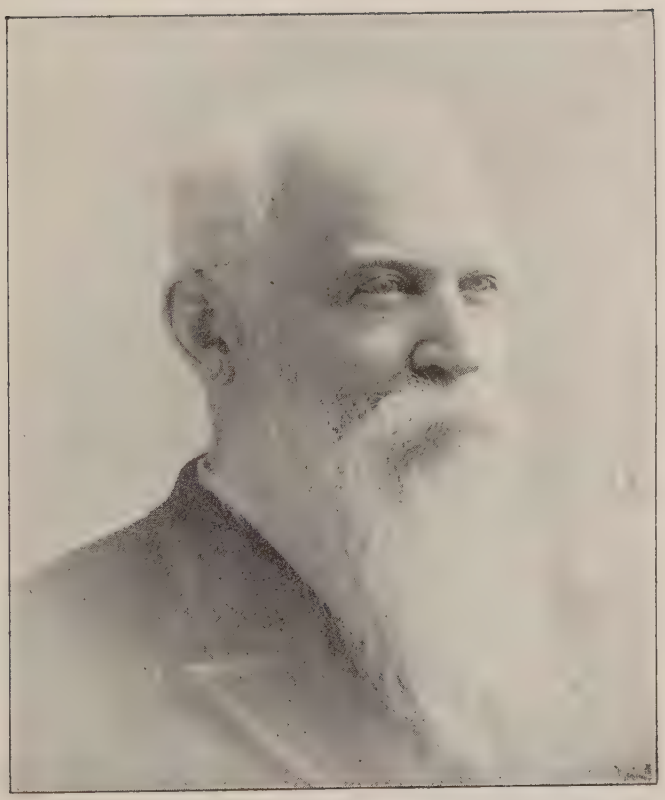
POPULAR VOTE.—Grant, 3,015,071—26 States; Seymour, 2,709,613—8 States.

1864.

Republican.		*Democrat.*	
Abraham Lincoln, Ill.,	212	Geo. B. McClellan, N. J.,	21
Andrew Johnson, Tenn.,	212	Geo. H. Pendleton, Ohio,	21

Total electoral vote, 314; not voting, 11 States in rebellion.

POPULAR VOTE.—Lincoln, 2,216,067—22 States; McClellan, 1,808,725—3 States.



HON. WILLIAM M. STEWART.

Born in Wayne co., N. Y., August 9, 1827; attended Yale College, 1849–50; started for California and arrived May, 1850; engaged in mining; studied law in 1852; appointed District Attorney in 1853, and elected next year; appointed Attorney-General of California, 1854; located at Virginia city, Nev., 1860; engrossed in mining litigation and development of mining industry; member of Territorial Convention, 1861; member of Constitutional Convention, 1863; elected U. S. Senator, 1864 and 1869; resumed general law practice for Pacific States; re-elected to U. S. Senate, as a Republican, for term beginning March 4, 1887; prominent advocate of Free Silver Coinage; Chairman of Committee on Mines and Mining, and member of Committees on Appropriations, Claims, Irrigation, Territories.

1860.

Republican.		*Democrat.*	
Abraham Lincoln, Ill.,	180	Stephen A. Douglas, Ill.,	12
Hannibal Hamlin Me.,	180	H. V. Johnson, Ga.,	12
		Jno. C. Breckinridge, Ky.,	72
		J. Lane, Oregon,	72

Constitutional Union.

		John Bell, Tenn.,	39
		Edward Everett, Mass.,	39

Total electoral vote, 303; 33 States.

POPULAR VOTE.—Lincoln, 1,866,352—17 States, N. J. divided; Douglas, 1,375,157—1 State, N. J., divided; Breckinridge, 845,763—11 States; Bell, 589,581—3 States.

1856.

Democrat.		*Republican.*	
James Buchanan, Pa.,	174	Jno. C. Fremont, Cal.,	114
Jno. C. Breckinridge, Ky.,	174	William L. Dayton, N. Y.,	114

American.

Millard Fillmore, N. Y., 8
A. J. Donelson, Tenn., 8

Total electoral vote, 296; 31 States.

POPULAR VOTE.—Buchanan, 1,838,169—19 States; Fremont, 1,341,264—11 States; Fillmore, 874,534—1 State.

1852.

Democrat.		*Whig.*	
Franklin Pearce, N. H.,	254	Winfield Scott, Va.,	42
William R. King, Ala.,	254	Wm. A. Graham, N. C.,	42

Total electoral vote, 296; 31 States.

POPULAR VOTE.—Pearce, 1,601,474—27 States; Scott, 1,386,578—4 States; Hale, 156,149.

1848.

Whig.		*Democrat.*	
Zachary Taylor, La.,	163	Lewis Cass, Mich.,	127
Millard Fillmore, N. Y.,	163	Wm. O. Butler, Ky.,	127

Total electoral vote, 290; 30 States.

POPULAR VOTE. — Taylor, 1,360,101—15 States; Cass, 1,220,544—15 States; Van Buren, N. Y., Free-soil Dem., 291,263.

1844.

Democrat.		*Whig.*	
James K. Polk, Tenn.,	170	Henry Clay, Ky.,	105
George M. Dallas, Pa.,	170	Theo. Frelinghuysen, N. J.,	105

Total electoral vote, 275; 26 States.

POPULAR VOTE.—Polk, 1,337,243—15 States; Clay, 1,299,068—11 States; Birney, 62,300.

1840.

Whig.		*Democrat.*	
William Henry Harrison, Ohio,	234	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.,	60
John Tyler, Va.,	234	R. M. Johnson, Ky.,	48

Total electoral vote, 294; 26 States.

POPULAR VOTE.—Harrison, 1,275,017—19 States; Van Buren, 1,128,702—7 States; Birney, 7,059.

1836.

Democrat.		*Whig.*	
Martin Van Buren, N. Y.,	170	Wm. H. Harrison, O.,	73
R. M. Johnson, Ky.,	147	F. Granger, N. Y.,	77

Total electoral vote, 294; 26 States.

POPULAR VOTE.—Van Buren, 761,549—15 States; Harrison, 7 States; White, 2 States; Webster, 1 State; Mangum, 1 State—236,656 votes.

1832.

Democrat.		*Nat. Republican.*	
Andrew Jackson, Tenn.,	219	Henry Clay, Ky.,	49
Martin Van Buren, N. Y.,	189	J. Sergeant, Pa.,	49
Anti-Mason.			
William Wirt, Va.,	7		
Amos Ellmaker, Pa.,	7		

Total electoral vote, 288.

POPULAR VOTE.—Andrew Jackson, 687,502; Henry Clay, 530,189; William Wirt, 33,108.

1828.

Democrat.		*Nat. Republican.*	
Andrew Jackson, Tenn.,	178	Jno. Q. Adams, Mass.,	83
Jno. C. Calhoun, S. C.,	171	Richard Rush, Pa.,	83

Total electoral vote, 261.

From the time of the disputed election, which resulted in the choice of John Adams, the popular vote began to be regarded as of importance.

POPULAR VOTE.—Jackson, 647,231—States, 15; Adams, 509,097—States. 9

1824.

Republican.

Andrew Jackson, Tenn.,	99	*For President.*
John Q. Adams, Mass.,	84	
W. H. Crawford, Ga.,	41	
Henry Clay, Ky.,	37	
Jno. C. Calhoun, S. C.,	182	*For V.-President.*
N. Sanford, N. Y.,	30	

Total electoral vote, 261.

There being no choice for President under the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, which requires that a candidate shall have a majority of all the electoral votes, the election was thrown into the House. In the contest in the House, Clay, who was out of the fight, threw his strength, or as much of it as he could control, to Adams, which gave him 13 States, as against 7 for Jackson and 4 for Crawford. Though the election of Adams was perfectly regular and constitutional, it forced the liberal and strict schools of interpreters wide apart, and the latter, carrying their fight to the country in the shape of a rebuke to those Representatives who had slaughtered Jackson, soon had the vantage ground.

1820.

Republican.

James Monroe, Va., 231
Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y., 218

Total electoral vote, 235. The Missouri vote was disputed; and New Hampshire gave one vote to J. Q. Adams.

1816.

Republican.	*Federal.*
James Monroe, Va., 183	Rufus King, N. Y., 34
Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y., 183	No nom. for V.-P.

Total electoral vote, 221.

1812.

Republican.	*Fed. or Clinton Dem.*
James Madison, Va., 128	De Witt Clinton, N. Y., 89
Elbridge Gerry, Mass., 131	Jared Ingersoll, Pa., 86

Total electoral vote, 218.

1808.

Republican.	*Federal.*
James Madison, Va., 122	C. C. Pinckney, S. C., 47
George Clinton, N. Y., 113	Rufus King, N. Y., 47

Total electoral vote, 176.

1804.

Republican.	*Federal.*
Thomas Jefferson, Va., 162	C. C. Pinckney, S. C., 14
George Clinton, N. Y., 162	Rufus King, N. Y., 14

Total electoral vote, 176.

This was the first National election which distinguished between nominees for President and Vice-President, under Twelfth Amendment to Federal Constitution.

Republican.	1800.	*Federal.*
Thomas Jefferson, Va., 73		John Adams, Mass., 65
Aaron Burr, N. Y., 73		C. C. Pinckney, S. C., 64

As there was, up till this time, no distinction between nominees for President and Vice-President—the one having the highest number of votes being the President—and Jefferson and Burr having each 73 votes, the election went to the House, where a prolonged and bitter struggle ensued, resulting in the choice of Jefferson. This dispute led to the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution.

Federal.	1796.	*Republican.*
John Adams, Mass., 71		Thomas Jefferson, Va., 68
Thos. Pinckney, Md., 59		Aaron Burr, N. Y., 30
Total electoral vote, 138.		

Federal.	1792.	*Republican.*
George Washington, Va., 132		Geo. Clinton, N. Y., 50
John Adams, Mass., 77		
Total electoral vote, 135.		

1788.

George Washington was nominated by a caucus of the Continental Congress. The State Legislatures chose electors for President and Vice-President on the first Wednesday of January, 1789. These electors voted on the first Wednesday in February, casting 69 votes for Washington as President, and 34 for John Adams as Vice-President. Washington was sworn into office by Chancellor Livingstone on April 29, 1789.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

Benjamin Harrison;

TWENTY-THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

I.

PARENTAGE, BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

IN that grand uprising in England, in 1648, against the tyrannical usurpations of Charles I., one of the conspicuous figures in the army of Cromwell was his trusted lieutenant, General Harrison. His commission in Cromwell's army tells the whole story of his political and religious convictions. The cause was that of constitutional liberty against despotism, of republicanism against monarchy. In a religious sense it was not exactly straight-out Presbyterianism against an established church, for many Presbyterians stood hand in hand with the Royalists, but it was the Independents against the combined forces which represented a hated dynasty.

This General Harrison was made a member of the High Court of Justice, which sat in Westminster Hall, and before which Charles I. was tried for high treason, in levying war against his Parliament. He signed, with the rest, the King's death warrant, and thus contributed to that wonderful march

of events which placed England beyond the grasp of despotic rulers and taught the people that true sovereignty resided in them.

When the great reaction came, and Charles II. was firmly seated on the throne, there was a day of revengeful reckoning. The head of every patriot who had participated in the Constitutional struggle was in demand, or rather his neck was in danger, for the rope and not the block must crown the verdict against those who had dared to strike a blow for political and religious freedom. The trials were hasty and *ex parte*, and the executions were swift. Among the first to feel the vengeance of the new King was General Harrison, whose life was taken by royal order on October 13, 1660. Samuel Pepys in his diary under the above date says: "I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said, that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now had judged him; and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at Whitehall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross."

There could be no comfort nor prosperity in England for a family which had contributed so largely to constitutional liberty, and one of whose most conspicuous members had suffered the disgrace of the scaffold. They therefore turned their eyes toward America, and along with the great stream which fled the persecutions of the Stuarts found an asylum on our Virginia shores.

That they were welcome contributors to colonial enter-

prise and important factors in the establishment of political institutions in their new home is quite clear from the fact that Benjamin Harrison, great-grandfather of our subject, and after whom he was named, appears conspicuously in Virginia annals. He was a member of the House of Burgesses, or Colonial Legislature, and a staunch patriot, standing in with the heroes who echoed the grand sentiment of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death!"

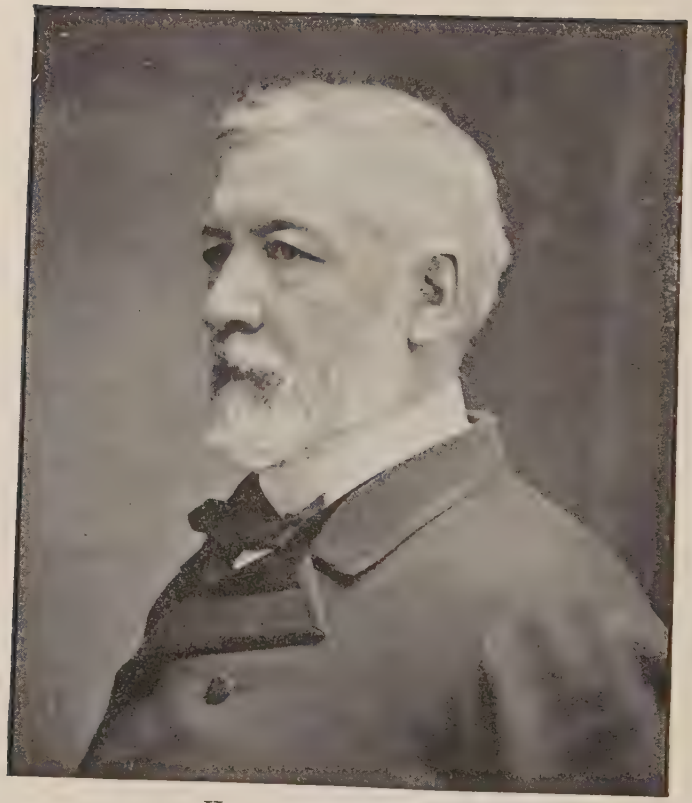
At ten o'clock, September 5, 1774, Delegates from all the Colonies, except Georgia, met at Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, and began the first session of the First Continental Congress. The British "Tea Act" of 1773 had been passed, and the call was for a "Congress of American States to frame a bill of rights, or form an Independent State, an American Commonwealth." The representatives to this Congress from Virginia were Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, *Benjamin Harrison* and Edward Pendleton.

Out of this Congress sprang the measures looking to a Declaration of Independence, an American army and the Articles of Confederation. At its second session, composed of nearly the same members, but now assembled in Independence Hall, the Declaration of Independence was reported, agreed upon and signed by the delegates from twelve States, July 4, 1776. Among the signatures to this immortal instrument is that of Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, which colony had by this time formed an independent local government. In the young State honors fell thick upon him. He was a member of the convention that ratified the Federal Constitution, served four years in Congress, and was elected Governor of the State three times. Throughout his entire life he was a steadfast adherent of independence, and a firm opponent of English aggressions. He was one

of the largest men in the Continental Congress, and it is narrated that when John Hancock was elected President of that body, Harrison was so elated over the situation that he rushed to Hancock, lifted him bodily from his seat and bore him in his arms to the chair.

His son, William Henry Harrison, afterwards General and President, was born and educated in Virginia. On reaching manhood he migrated to Ohio, then the far West, and for forty years was prominently identified with the interests, perils and hopes of that and the Northwest country. He took with him an intellect enriched with classical reminiscences which he fondly quoted in writing and conversation, a full assortment of the political doctrines inculcated by his illustrious father, and all of the Harrison fortitude in the maintenance of his convictions. He went West, not so much as a permanent settler, at first, as a soldier, and as an aide-de-camp to General Anthony Wayne, then engaged in protecting the frontiers from Indian depredations. This was the beginning of that military career which continually brightened in lustre till General Harrison came to rank as one of the most distinguished military officers of his day.

After the State of Ohio was carved out of the Territory of the Northwest in 1802, the remainder of the immense area stretching to the Mississippi and the Canadian border became the Territory of Indiana. It was an important section, being the home of many hostile Indian tribes, mostly subsidized by English gold, and a favorite avenue of approach to our Western settlements by English and Indian armies. This became very clear prior to and during the war of 1812. With a view to having a man of military experience and stamina in so dangerous and unprotected a region, President Madison made General Harrison Governor of the Territory of Indiana. He was none too soon with



HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

Born in Washington co., Pa., January 30, 1830; educated at Washington College; taught school in Kentucky and Philadelphia; editor of Kennebec (Me.) *Journal*, 1854; of Portland *Advertiser*, 1857; elected to Maine Legislature, 1859; elected to Congress, 1863–65–67; Speaker of House, 1869–71–73; U. S. Senator, 1876; prominent candidate for Presidency before Conventions of 1876–80; Secretary of State under Garfield; Republican candidate for Presidency, 1884; defeated by Cleveland; conspicuous before conventions of 1888–92; Secretary of State under Harrison; resigned June 4, 1892; celebrated as orator and author; most prominent of modern statesmen.

this appointment, for in the spring of 1811 the famous chieftain, Tecumseh, instigated by British emissaries, began his celebrated war, designed to expel the settlers from all the country north of the Ohio. In the fall, General Harrison led 2,000 troops up the Wabash to the mouth of Tippecanoe Creek, where, November 7, 1811, was fought the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe, in which the Indians, in overwhelming force, were badly defeated. After the breaking out of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain in 1812, General Harrison organized and took command of "The Army of the West," whose rendezvous was near the western end of Lake Erie. He fought many engagements with the Indian forces under Proctor and Tecumseh, built and maintained Fort Meigs and received the celebrated dispatch from Commodore Perry, after he had destroyed the British fleet on Lake Erie—"We have met the enemy and they are ours."

General Harrison embarked his army on Perry's victorious fleet, sailed across the lake, invaded Canada, caught up with the Indian and mixed forces under Proctor and Tecumseh at the Thames, where in a masterly battle he annihilated them, Tecumseh being among the killed. This battle recovered the entire Michigan region to the United States, and terminated the War of 1812 in the Northwest.

General Harrison's fame was now as wide as that of his country. He was honored for his military prowess as much as he was respected in the walks of peace. In after years he held several important civic offices, and was elected to Congress, chosen as American Minister to the Republic of Colombia, and elected to the United States Senate, from Ohio, in 1827. He appeared in that body as a tall, gray-haired gentleman, of dignified demeanor, deliberate speech and firm Whig proclivities, and readily made his mark

among such worthies as John Henry Eaton, Tazewell and Randolph, Henry Clay, Thomas H. Benton, Nathaniel Macon, Martin Van Buren, J. McPherson Berrien, Dudley Chase, Horatio Seymour and Albion Keith Parris, though he never dreamed of the higher honors in store for him.

The political situation during the administration of Martin Van Buren (1837–1841) was peculiar. The Southern nullifiers, who had been "squelched" by Jackson, began to revive and put on airs during Van Buren's term. The country was feeling to the fullest extent the disastrous policy of tariff reduction, and absolute ruin was staring our manufacturers and workingmen in the face. The State banks were failing by the score. The Government stopped its appropriations towards internal improvements. In a word, the panic of 1837 was on, and business was at a standstill. Pork sold in Ohio at three dollars a hundred pounds, wheat for fifty cents a bushel, and wages on the farm fell to thirty-seven and a half cents a day.

The Whigs took the initiative in the coming Presidential struggle, and nominated General William Henry Harrison, at Harrisburg, Pa., on December 4, 1839. Clay, the ablest Whig, and most popular and magnetic man in his party, was not regarded as an available candidate at that juncture, owing to certain antagonisms. Besides, Jackson's military record had counted for much, and there was no reason why one equally as brilliant might not avail General Harrison. The Democrats renominated Van Buren. Then began the historic political campaign of 1840, which surpassed in excitement and intensity of feeling all others, before or since. An imprudent Democratic writer sneeringly remarked that General Harrison lived in a log cabin and had better remain there. Instantly the Whigs adopted the log cabin as one of their emblems, and log cabins were raised

everywhere for Whig headquarters, some of them of large size, and nearly every voting precinct had its Tippecanoe club and choristers. For the first time in our land the power of song was invoked to aid a national canvass. The poetry of the occasion mostly took the shape of parody, but was made to contain a vast amount of wit and many hard hits. A sample is apropos :

"Oh! dear to my soul are the days of our glory,
The time-honored days of our national pride;
When heroes and statesmen ennobled our story,
And boldly the foes of our country defied;
When victory hung o'er our flag proudly waving,
And the battle was fought by the valiant and true,
For our homes and our loved ones, the enemy braving,
Oh! then stood the soldier of Tippecanoe—
The iron-armed soldier, the true-hearted soldier,
The gallant old soldier of Tippecanoe."

Never were mass conventions so numerous and immense as those held by the Whigs during this campaign. Tens of thousands flocked to them from the plow, the forge, the factory, the counter and desk, to give hearty utterance to their detestation of the party that had made the "American system" of protection inoperative, threw all our trade into the hands of Great Britain, left our country bankrupt, and brought the wages of our laborers to starvation figures. Delegations often rode thirty miles to these meetings, camping on the way. They carried huge banners, and often log cabins mounted on wheels, by the side of which was a barrel of hard cider, the beverage of the campaign. They were amply paid for their trouble by the big processions in which they participated, and the eloquence they heard from such men as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Wm. C. Preston, Henry A. Wise, Tom Corwin, Thomas Ewing, R. W.

Thompson and others. General Harrison himself took the stump in the Western States, and spoke to immense audiences. "*The Log Cabin*," an illustrated campaign paper published by Horace Greeley, at New York and Albany, appeared in May, 1840, and reached a circulation of 80,000. It, with *The New Yorker*, became the foundation of the New York *Tribune*.

The speeches of the Whigs in this campaign were never excelled for wit and vigor. Corwin's reply to Craig's attack on General Harrison's military record literaly crushed Craig in political and professional life. Clay was equally happy in his defence of the candidate and the principles of the party. While saying that "General Harrison had fought more battles than any other general during the last war and never sustained defeat, and that he had held more civil offices of trust and importance than almost any man in the Union," he was interrupted by a voice in the crowd crying out, "Tell us of Van Buren's battles!"

"Ah!" said Clay, "I will have to tell you of Van Buren's *three* great battles! He fought General Commerce and conquered him; he fought General Currency and conquered him; and with his Cuban allies he fought the Seminoles and got conquered!"

The Whigs fought the campaign to a close with the utmost harmony, confidence and enthusiasm, and the result was twenty States and 234 electoral votes for Harrison and six States and 60 electoral votes for Van Buren. It was an unparalleled victory and a stinging rebuke to a party which had wrecked the country with its British principles and its determination to prostrate the paid labor of the North at the feet of the unpaid labor of the South, in order that slavery might live and thrive.

Everywhere the triumphant Whigs sang:

"Then hurrah for the field where the bold eagle flew,
In pride o'er the hero of Tippecanoe!"

And then would come the refrain—

"Van, Van, Van, is a used-up man."

General Harrison arrived in Washington to take the oath of office and assume the duties of President on a stormy afternoon in February, 1841. He walked from the station to City Hall, amid continual greetings from the multitude. He was a very dignified man, with quite a military bearing, but severely plain in his habits. He rose early and went to market himself, rarely wearing an overcoat. His death from pneumonia, contracted by exposure to a chilling rain, on one of those morning marketing trips, cut his administration short at the end of one month. It threw the nation into a mourning as profound as its jubilation had been intense on the morning of his inauguration.

General Harrison's son, John Scott Harrison, fell heir to his father's farm at North Bend, on the Ohio river, a few miles below Cincinnati. He had already acquired political prominence, having served as Governor of the Northwestern Territory and subsequently as a member of Congress in the lower House, from 1853 to 1857. He died in 1879, at Cincinnati. It was at North Bend that Benjamin Harrison was born on August 20, 1833. He was a slender, wiry stripling of seven years when the notable campaign in which his grandfather was elected President was going on. Its spectacular appeals and scenic wonders made a vivid impression on the boy's mind. Apples for boys seem to have been as much of an inspiration as hard cider for the men, and the impression was popular that no matter where they were found they were common property and appropriate emblems of patriotic fervor. The boy carried such a delusion with

him on a trip to Cincinnati, in company with his grandfather, shortly after the election of the latter. Tired out with treading the streets, and, perhaps, very hungry, he could not resist the temptation presented by a stand highly piled with red-cheeked apples, and so began to fill his pockets just as he had been wont to do under the favorite trees in his father's orchard. Of course there was no resistance to this till the apple-woman saw him walk innocently and unconcernedly away, when her shrieks called the attention of the grandfather to the comical situation. The account was readily adjusted, and the boy went on his way munching his fruit as satisfactorily as if its possession had not at first involved a question of law and morals.

The life of young Benjamin was quite like that of other farm boys during the period in which they are picking up the rudiments at home or in the district school. If anything, there was a little more serious attention to study than is usual, leastways, there was more than the ordinary progress, for at the age of fourteen years old he was sent to Cary's Academy, on Walnut Hills, a suburb of Cincinnati, where he remained for two years, and where one of his classmates was Murat Halstead. The year after he left school he lost his mother—a loss that affected the impressible nature of the young man for a long time. In the fall of 1850 he became a student at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. He entered as a member of the Junior class, and in June, 1852, he was graduated fourth in a class of sixteen. At the University with Harrison were Professor David Swing, of Chicago; the Hon. Milton Saylor, of Cincinnati; the Rev. Dr. James Brooks, of St. Louis; the late Senator Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana; and the Hon. W. P. Fishback; but not all of them were classmates. Here he made such headway with his studies as to be able to graduate at the age of eigh-

teen. His teachers and classmates all bore testimony to his popularity among his fellows, to the ease with which he held his own in all the college contests, and to the promise he gave of future success. The learned and eminent Professor David Swing writes "that Harrison, while at Oxford, though very young, was a studious scholar and early gave evidence of being the foremost in whatever he might undertake. He there acquired the habit of study and mental discipline which have characterized him through life, enabling him to grapple with any subject on short notice, to concentrate his intellectual forces and give his mental energies that sort of direct and effective operation that indicates the trained and disciplined mind."

II.

LEGAL CAREER.

THE robust intellect he had inherited was now well disciplined and equipped for the profession of his choice. He inclined naturally to law, as best suiting hereditary taste and mental organization. Certainly no man ever possessed a more distinctively legal mind.

He entered the law office of Judge B. S. Storer, in Cincinnati, shortly after he graduated, and was admitted to the bar before he was twenty-one years old. At or about the completion of his law studies, he married the handsome daughter of Professor John W. Scott, long time professor at Washington College, Pennsylvania, and previously at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, and at College Hill, Cincinnati, at which last-named place his daughter first met General Harrison when he was a student there. Mrs. Harrison's mother was the beautiful Mary Neal, daughter of John Neal of English birth, cashier of the Kensington Bank and afterward of the Bank of Moyamensing. The young lawyer thus embarked on his profession with a partner whose presence would prove an inspiration, even if the question of bread and butter should thereby become a little harder to solve. But he had no mind to stop in Cincinnati. He would carry farther west the name that had honored Virginia and Ohio, and contribute his energies to a new society. With $200 in his possession, a gift from his father, and a small inheritance of $800 from an aunt, he started for Indianapolis, and there, in the year 1855, began his industrious and highly honorable career as a lawyer.

HON. WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

Born at Perry, Ohio, March 2, 1829; educated at Western Reserve College; admitted to bar in Ohio; moved to Iowa, 1857; served on Governor's staff during war; elected as Republican to 38th, 39th, 40th and 41st Congresses; elected to United States Senate, 1872; re-elected, 1878, 1884 and 1890; one of the oldest, ablest and most respected Senators; Chairman of Committee on Appropriations; Member of Committees on Engrossed Bills, Finance and Canadian Relations.

At that time he was a solid-looking, square-shouldered young man, with an uncommonly large, well-poised head, a serious, thoughtful face, and a quiet, dignified manner that indicated great reserve force. He was poor, among strangers, without influence, but heroic at heart and anxious for the opportunity which he felt must come, if honor, talent and zeal were to deserve their rewards. It was not long in coming. One of his first cases of moment was with Hon. John A. Wright, then Democratic Governor of the State. It concerned a legislative investigation and was as much political as legal. He displayed marked ability in handling this case, and proved that youth was no drawback to success where the heart was right, the head clear and the will determined. Business tumbled right in on him from that date, and he ever afterwards continued to be a growing lawyer, with a large and commanding clientage.

Among the many incidents showing his application and energy is the following:—Many years before he had attained prominence in his profession, he was appointed to prosecute a negro charged with attempting wholesale murder by putting poison into the coffee at a hotel. He had only one night in which to prepare for the trial. He had no experience in poison cases and no knowledge of poisons. He called to his aid Dr. T. Parvin (who has since become as distinguished in his profession as General Harrison has in his), and the two young men spent the whole night in diligent work on the poison case. The next day, to the astonishment and bewilderment of the defence, young Harrison appeared ready for the trial. He conducted the prosecution vigorously and succeeded in having the prisoner convicted.

Speaking of Mr. Harrison's early law career, William Wallace, his first law partner, says:—"I formed his acquaint-

ance soon after he came to the city. He was about twenty-one years of age, a white-haired, boyish-looking young man, but pleasant in manner, and it did not take long to find out his superior intellectual qualities and his sterling worth. It happened that in the year 1855 I had received the nomination for Clerk of Marion County on the People's ticket. The canvass required a good deal of time, and I concluded to offer my young friend a partnership. I met him on the street one day and told him I had some good clients and a fair practice, and that if he would go into the office and take care of the business while I was canvassing for the office, we would share the profits. I think this is the only partnership agreement we ever had. I was defeated for the office, so we continued the practice of the law together until the year 1860 or 1861. It is pleasant to say that through his assistance and ability as a lawyer we retained our clients and got new ones. Our business was of a quiet kind, some collections, a good deal of probate business, and once in a while a case that tested the mettle of the young partner.

"He soon disclosed his admirable qualities as a lawyer, quick of apprehension, clear, methodical and logical in his analysis and statement of a case. He possessed a natural faculty for getting the exact truth out of a witness, either by a direct or cross examination. In this respect he has few equals anywhere in the profession. Always exacting from courts and juries their closest attention and interest in the cause, and when the cause demanded it illustrating the rarest powers of the genuine orator, he was a hard worker, giving to every case the best of his skill and labor, so that he never went unprepared, trusting to good luck or the want of skill or the negligence of the other side. He was poor. It was a struggle for bread and meat with both of us. He had a noble young wife, who cheerfully shared with him

the plainest and simplest style of living. He did the work about his home for a long time himself, and thus made his professional income, not large, keep him independent and free from debt."

Hon. W. P. Fishback, also a former partner, says: "General Harrison possesses all the qualities of a great lawyer in rare combination. He prepares a case with consummate skill; his written pleadings are models of clearness and brevity; he is peerless in Indiana as an examiner of witnesses, he discusses a legal question in a written brief or in oral argument with convincing logic, and as an advocate it may be said of him that when he has finished an address to the jury nothing remains to be said on that side of the case. I have often heard able lawyers in Indiana and elsewhere say that he was the hardest man to follow they ever met. No lawyer who ever met General Harrison in a legel encounter has afterwards placed a small estimate upon his ability."

The present (1888) law firm is Harrison, Miller & Elam. The firm is regarded as one of the strongest and best in the State in so far as safe counsel and genuine legal ability are concerned. Speaking of his partner, General Harrison, Mr. Miller says:—"Perhaps the greatest law argument made by the General was in the Lieutenant-Governor's case in the winter of 1885, before the Supreme Court of Indiana. The case was one involving the greatest questions of constitutional law and the relative functions of the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the Government. The case had already in various phases been argued two or three times by other counsel, and the most elaborate briefs had been prepared and published on both sides. The evening before the final argument was to be begun the briefs were put in General Harrison's hands. With such preparation

as he could make that night and during the argument by other counsel, including Senator Turpie and others of the ablest in the State, he made an exposition of the relations of the different departments of the Government to each other so luminous and profound that, though the case was one enlisting on each side the most intense partisan feeling and though four of the five judges were opposed to him politically, yet a majority of the court adopted his views and decided in his favor. In the brilliancy of his argument all others, learned and forcible as they were, paled into insignificance."

For a full score of years before his nomination General Harrison held the first place at the Indiana bar. He had equals, and even superiors, as specialists, but in "all-round" management and generalship of a case, and ability to "get there," it was universally conceded that he was unsurpassed in the State. In a recent conversation respecting his merits, one of the best lawyers of Indianapolis remarked, "that he had never known but one instance in which General Harrison was surpassed as a cross-examiner, and that was in ex-Judge Fullerton's work during the Beecher-Tilton trial. In a case at law he brings a moral force to bear upon any crooked work or concealment that is as powerful as any skill in handling it. His scorn and sarcasm has an 'ugly honesty' in its expression that will skin or scalp the victim according to his degree of culpability. In speaking, his voice is high, shrill and somewhat unpleasant at first, but this is soon lost sight of in the midst of his clear enunciation and perfect mastery of his theme. His manner is very earnest, and his arguments, always well marshalled, have a rapid and ponderous sweep, like a charge of cavalry. His grit and pluck are of the subdued order, but capable of being greatly aroused, and then he is apt to deliver his blows with-

HON. WILLIAM P. FRYE.

Born at Lewiston, Me., September 2, 1831; graduated at Bowdoin College, 1850; educated for the bar; elected to State Legislature, 1861, 1862, 1867; Mayor of Lewiston, 1866–67; Attorney-General, 1867–68–69; member of Republican National Executive Committee, 1872–76–80; Presidential Elector, 1864; Delegate to Republican National Conventions, 1872–76–80; elected member of 42d, 43d, 44th, 45th, 46th and 47th Congresses; elected to succeed James G. Blaine in United States Senate in 1880; re-elected Senator in 1883 and 1888; chairman of Committee on Commerce and on Pacific Railroads, and member of Committee on Foreign Relations; of wide repute as orator and statesman.

out respect to persons. The old stagers like Thomas A. Hendricks and D. W. Voorhees never met a man who was so resolute and overwhelming in his excoriations of them as General Harrison."

This manner and method describes his political as well as his legal work, except that in his political speeches there is more compactness, smoothness and logical development which, joined to greater fervor, make them scholarly and eloquent. They are plain and lucid in general style, but charmingly interspersed with phrases of rare beauty, and lighted up at effective points by expressions of fine humor. On one occasion he was delivering a Republican speech in Boston, in which he said "that Ben Butler had been out West quoting Latin and awing the people with his scholarship. He (Butler) had said that the creation of money followed the natural order of creation, which began with *fiat lux*. Very good! very good indeed! But when God Almighty said 'fiat lux' there was the power of God Almighty behind it, and I cannot help thinking what Ben Butler would look like sitting on the rim of morning and shouting at chaos: 'Fiat lux.'"

The young Indiana lawyer could not, of course, forego the pleasurable excitement of politics. It was the formative period of the Republican party, and he found in its principles something which appealed equally to his heart and head. His instinct and education inclined him to a cause which sought to break away from subserviency to slavocracy, and re-dedicate our institutions on a broad, humanitarian basis. He possessed fine oratorical powers, and soon came into demand as a fearless and impressive public speaker—one of the best in the West. The vigorous and growthy Republicanism of his section owed much to his campaign efforts. In the memorable canvass of 1860, when Mr. Lincoln was run-

ning for President, he happened to have an appointment to speak in a town on the same day that Mr. Hendricks was to address his Democratic admirers. An arrangement was effected by which they were to divide the time between them. Mr. Hendricks, with all the confidence of a veteran campaignist, and with no little of the feeling with which "old stagers" sometimes regard stripling adversaries, fully expected to amuse himself and his audience by tearing the unwitting young man into metaphorical pieces and swallowing them whole. The result of the meeting was quite different from what Mr. Hendricks had so confidently expected. Instead of killing and dissecting his man he had to struggle for his own precious life. Democrats freely admitted that Mr. Hendricks had met his match, and Republicans were unanimous in the verdict that he had been badly worsted in argument and eloquence. The chairman of the meeting said, "I have heard a good many political debates in my day, but I never heard a man skin an opponent as quickly as Ben Harrison did Hendricks that day." A more extended contest was afterward arranged by the friends of Mr. Hendricks, in which he seemed willing to give his young adversary some points of vantage, but he repented of this before the controversy was through, and it is said had to call the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash," Mr. Voorhees, to his assistance. He gave it out that the controversy had taught him one lesson, and that was, never to make a concession of any kind to an opponent.

From the beginning to the end of this celebrated campaign Harrison was in the thickest of the fight and was one of the most effective and popular champions of the Republican cause. He was running for office himself, having accepted the nomination of his party for the modest position of Reporter for the Supreme Court. This place was in the line

of his profession and tastes, and would prove useful to him in elevating him in his profession as well as increasing his income. He was duly elected to the position for the term of four years, and at once turned his attention to its duties. His fellow-members of the bar felt that he fully deserved the place he had won by such hard work, and that he was fully equipped for its responsibilities.

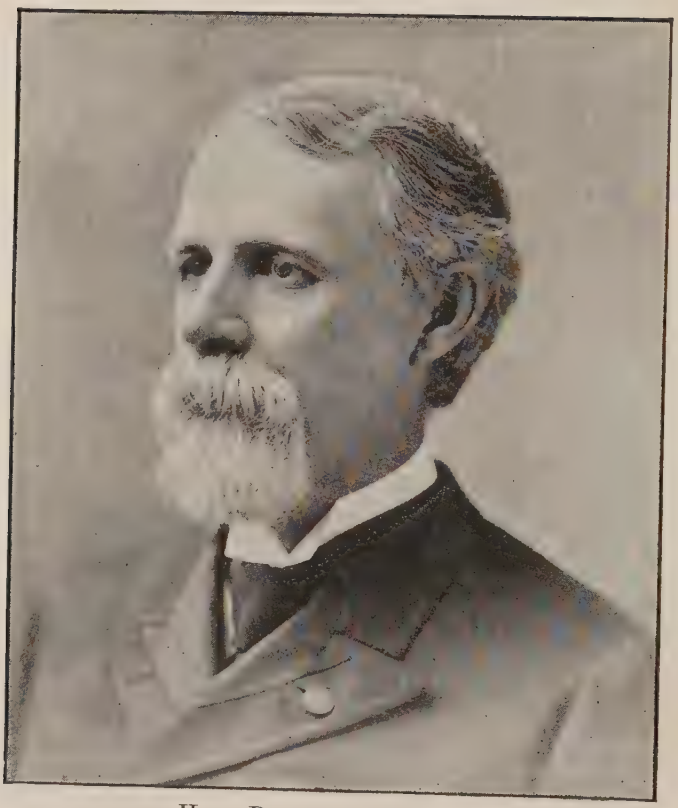
It was in the year 1860 that he entered into a legal partnership with Mr. Fishback. In the capacity of Court Reporter he published two volumes and had a third under way when the events of the civil war began to crowd thick and fast into history and to turn the best settled projects of men into unthought of channels.

III.

MILITARY CAREER.

Mr. Seward's idea that the war of the rebellion could be crushed by hastily gathered militia in a campaign of ninety days had been dispelled by the misfortunes of 1861. Thoroughly disillusioned as to the situation, President Lincoln issued his calls for more men, and in 1862 his call for 300,000, the term of enlistment to be for three years. The period was one of great depression, for there had been repeated defeats of Union troops, and the enemy had hold of vital strategic points, and swarmed all along the borders of the slave States. Benjamin Harrison had been one of those who cheerfully responded to the first call for ninety-day troops. This had not been regarded as much of a sacrifice, since the absence from the duties of his newly acquired office, and from his wife and family, would only be temporary.

But the period of his return was one of greater gloom than ever. There was earnest war ahead, prolonged absence, hardship and death. Lincoln's calls, each growing more urgent and portentous, were ringing in the ears of all patriots. Sacrifices must be made. Life's prospects, the comforts and endearments of home, wife, children, loved ones, must not stand in the way of patriotic devotion and high call to duty. Looking back, young Harrison saw his fair start in life, his office which was to net a living and lift the mortgage from his little cottage, his young wife and two children. Looking forward, all these desirable and beloved things took other shapes, or vanished, and there arose a conflict in his bosom. How it was decided we let him tell in his own words:—"I



HON. RUSSELL A. ALGER.

Born in Medina co., Ohio, February 27, 1836; educated at Richfield Academy; studied law and admitted to bar, 1859; enlisted, August, 1861, as Captain in 2d Michigan Cavalry; wounded and a prisoner, 1862; Colonel of the 6th Michigan Cavalry, 1863; brevetted Brigadier, 1864; after war, moved to Detroit; engaged in lumber business; became head of two extensive lumber companies; owner of large pine lands; delegate to Chicago Convention in 1884; elected Governor of Michigan, as a Republican, 1884; conspicuous candidate for President in National Republican Convention of 1888; received 142 votes on 5th ballot; name prominently coupled with the nomination in 1892; a ready, perspicuous orator, and popular party leader in the Northwest.

went one day to see Governor Morton with Mr. Wallace, to seek an appointment as lieutenant for a young man in the north part of the State. After getting through with this business Governor Morton invited me into an inner room. He there spoke of the call and of no response being made thereto. The Governor seemed quite discouraged at the apathy of the people, and, pointing over towards the Gallup Block, where men were dressing stone, remarked that men were interested in their own business more than in the safety of the nation. I said right there: 'Governor, if I can be of service to my country I am ready to go.' He said: 'You can, you can raise a regiment in this district.' He went on to say: 'You have a good office, and it would be too much to ask you to give it up; but you get up the regiment and we can find some one else to take it into the field.' I said: 'No, if I make a recruiting speech and ask any man to enlist, I propose to go with him and stay as long as he does if I live so long.' 'Well,' said the Governor, 'you can command the regiment.' I said: 'I don't know that I shall want to. I have no military experience; we can see about that.'" After this conversation Mr. Harrison proceeded up the street with Mr. Wallace and bought a military cap; they got out hand-bills for a war meeting at Masonic Hall, hired a drum and fife and hung a flag out of his office window. Mr. Harrison took out a second lieutenant's recruiting commission in July, 1862, and raised and took the first company (A) of the Seventieth Regiment into camp, and in less than thirty days from the date of the first recruiting commission he was in Kentucky with 1,010 men, having first been promoted to a captaincy and then to a colonelcy. This was the first regiment in the field under that call.

The 70th Indiana was assigned to duty at Bowling Green, Ky., and became a defender of the Southern borders of its

own State against the numerous raiding parties under command of Kirby Smith, and other guerilla officers. But in addition it performed garrison duty in many places during the surges back and forth through Kentucky and Tennessee of the Cumberland armies under Buell and Rosecrans, and was efficient as a guard to the long lines of communication which every forward movement rendered necessary. It got to be a regiment of fine *esprit* and discipline, under the care of its excellent Colonel, who developed the qualities of a soldier as rapidly as many of those whom West Point had favored with her special training.

Says D. W. Ransdell, who served in the regiment and lost an arm at Resaca :—"As soon as our regiment, the 70th Indiana, was recruited, Colonel Harrison marched us to Bowling Green. We were three months there, all the time impatient, as green recruits always are, for active service, and all the time kept at drill. The Colonel was a strict disciplinarian. He had us up at daylight and drilled us until breakfast ; after breakfast he drilled us to dinner ; after dinner we had more of it, to say nothing of guard duty, dress parade, inspections and all the rest of it. The boys growled a good deal, but there was not one of them who failed to appreciate afterward what a good thing for the regiment all the drilling had been. The discipline more than once saved many a life, if it did not save the whole regiment from capture, destruction or rout."

The period of eighteen months, during which the 70th Indiana had been a defender of the long army lines which stretched from the Ohio southward, came to an end after the battle of Chattanooga, and when Sherman began preparations for that celebrated forward movement which carried him to Atlanta and thence to the sea. Chattanooga was to be the base of the new operations against Atlanta. There

was a mighty ingathering of forces there, and they were formed into three co-operative armies. McPherson's army composed Sherman's right. It congregated and lay at Gordon's Mill. Thomas' army composed his centre. It had gathered its forces at Ringold. Schofield's army composed his left, and lay at Red Clay, due north of Dalton. They had all debouched from the valleys running back to the Tennessee, and in May, 1864, stood within easy supporting distance of each other, at the apex of a triangle twenty miles from Chattanooga, and before which lay the Confederate army at Dalton, under General Johnston. In the formation of the above armies, the 20th Corps, under command of "fighting" Joe Hooker, fell into the army of the centre, under General Thomas, and Colonel Harrison's 70th Indiana regiment fell into the 1st Brigade and 3d Division of this celebrated corps. It was in Lookout Valley that Colonel Harrison, then in command of a brigade, first attracted the attention of his corps commander, for the rigid discipline of his own regiment and brigade and the confidence he inspired in his men.

Every soldier knew that desperate battles would mark their 140 miles of progress to Atlanta, for the country was densely wooded, very mountainous, broken by ravines, crossed by numerous and rapid streams and full of difficulties for an advancing army. There was but one railway for supplies, and the country roads were well nigh impassable in rainy weather. The Confederate position at Dalton was covered by an almost inaccessible ridge known as Rocky Face. Through this ridge there was only one pass, that of Buzzard's Roost, and it was flooded and commanded by batteries crowning the cliffs.

To strike in front was impracticable. Sherman determined to move by Johnston's flank. McPherson was sent round

to Resaca to attack the place and cut the railroads. Schofield was to press down from the left and attack Johnston's flank, should he retreat. Thomas was to attack the strong position of Johnston in front, and hold him while the other movements were culminating. Thomas' demonstration was a vigorous one, and it greatly tried the mettle of his men. For two whole days there was continual skirmishing, ending in a brilliant assault by Hooker's corps on the Confederate entrenchments at Dug Gap.

Johnston was now feeling the pressure on his left and rear, and fearing for the safety of Resaca, he abandoned Dalton and fell back to the former place. Resaca was strongly fortified by nature and artificial means. Sherman resolved to repeat the tactics which had secured Dalton. Several flanking divisions were sent to the left, and others to cross the Oostanaula and destroy communications. But the direct move on Resaca was more formidable than on Dalton. On May 15, 1864, the fighting before Resaca was terrific. Charge after charge was made on the enemy's entrenchments by the various corps, and none was more brilliant and destructive than that of the 20th Corps. One of the members of the 70th Indiana gives his recollection of the part it took in this memorable attack:—"It must have been an awful ordeal, for the 70th Indiana lost 257 in killed and wounded, or almost half its number. I recollect that our regiment had been at the right of the centre of a line of battle more or less actively engaged from Friday night to Sunday morning. That Sunday morning we were quietly marched to a ravine, where we laid off our coats and knapsacks—of course we knew what that meant. Then we were formed in one single line at the top of a hill. We were the first line, and there were three other lines behind us. I shall never forget the scene. The hill sloped gently down-

ward from us to a ravine. Beyond the ravine the ground ascended again, and on the crest of this ascent facing us, was the rebel position. They had a battery over there, and it kept belching smoke that the wind would whisk away from the mouths of the cannon, and the next minute a shell would come shrieking towards us. The order to advance was given. We moved down that slope like clockwork. Harrison was riding his horse behind our line, and I remember looking over my shoulder at him and wondering whether I should ever see him again. Just as we got to the ravine the order came to charge. We dashed through the ravine and went pell-mell up the slope beyond. Well, the noise and confusion and horror of it all was fearful, but just as I was running forward with all my might, I heard Harrison yelling, 'Come on, boys! Come on.' There he was on his horse away in front of the line. He had on his full regimentals and he was a shining mark. How he lived for a minute in that hailstorm of bullets I don't know. His voice was still in my ears, and I was almost at the rebel works when I felt a sharp pain in my wrist as if it had been hit smartly with a stick. 'Look out, Dan!' a friend of mine cried, 'you'll bleed to death.' I stopped the bleeding by pressure and went back to the hospital, but as I turned to walk back I saw Harrison right among the guns of that battery."

Says another member of the regiment:—"In the charge at Resaca the 70th Indiana held the post of honor, where the bullets were the thickest. Our Colonel was right with us, too. He came right up behind us when we captured the four guns there—the only guns, I believe, that were taken in the Atlanta campaign. We had to withstand a murderous cross-fire, and as the gunners discharged their pieces we fell to the ground and allowed the shot to pass over us.

Then we rushed up, scaled the works and took possession of the guns. The boys tell a story of the General which I guess is true. They say that when we went into the works Harrison was with us, and that he grabbed a rebel gunner by the beard and yanked him out, exclaiming: 'Come out of here, you blank blank rebel.'"

Much must be excused to the excitement attending such an occasion, and it may be the Colonel did really forget for the moment the injunction against swearing, but if so his entire life in time of peace has made ample amends, for his professional brethren say, that amid all the vexations of court procedure they never heard him utter a harsher expletive than "confound it."

In this historic attack on Resaca, Thomas' army held the centre, and Hooker's corps crossed Camp Valley Creek, precipitating the engagement all along Johnston's line, and keeping it up the entire day. The fortunes of the bloody day were varied, but at night Johnston confessed his inability to hold the place longer by beating a hasty retreat over the Oostanaula and on to Cassville. One of the most magnificent charges and fiercest fights of the day was after Johnston had passed out word to his division to prepare for retreat. Hooker had captured from Stewart one of the best fortified of the Confederate positions. The latter officer had not received the word to retreat and, bent on recapturing Hooker's position, made a desperate attack on it. He was badly repulsed, and Hooker made a gallant pursuit of his advantage by charging upon the Confederates, carrying away as trophies four guns and several hundred prisoners. In this battle in and around Resaca the Union loss footed up nearly 5,000 killed and wounded. That of the Confederates was less, owing to their protected position. Thus ended the second stage of the memorable campaign.

Sherman pushed on to Cassville, which Johnston speedily evacuated, to take up a position at the famous and impregnable Allatoona Pass. The Union army could not afford to waste time here, and so swung in an entire body away from its communications and by Johnston's flank, its objective being Dallas. Johnston saw the manœuvre and beating a hasty retreat, fell back to New Hope Church, where he could not only intercept Sherman, but guard his own line of railroad. Here he formed in line of battle, and on May 25, Hooker, in Thomas' advance, skirmished all the afternoon, and an hour before sunset, having his corps well in hand, he began a furious assault on Hood's corps, stationed at the Church. He held to this attack for two hours, nothing making him desist but night and the storm. For three days there was continuous fighting at New Hope, which resulted in the daring charges and counter charges of the 27th and 28th. Then came a week of skirmishing and manœuvring again, during which both armies gradually worked their way eastward until Sherman found himself at Ackworth and Johnston at Marietta, the latter guarded by the famous Kenesaw range on the right, Lost Mountain in the centre and Pine Mountain on the left, all strongly fortified and naturally impregnable.

History can never relate in truthful detail the daring and bloody efforts of the Union army to scale these mountain heights and dislodge their occupants. McPherson held the left, Thomas the centre, and Schofield the right of Sherman's army. It had been reinforced and the troops were full of confidence. It moved down from Ackworth on the 9th of June; on the 10th fighting began. For twenty-four days battle raged incessantly—by skirmish, by charge, by artillery, by infantry. Advance was as if by inches, through dense thickets and across almost impassable ravines. Every day added

to the long list of Union killed and wounded, and many gallant officers perished. By the 15th Pine Mountain was forced from Johnston's grasp and a few days later Lost Mountain. Kenesaw alone remained. Sherman resolved to carry it by assault. Thomas and McPherson's armies were assigned to the perilous task. These generals threw their corps and regiments into the wooded base of the heights and began the perilous ascent. Regiments vied with each other in climbing unto victory or death amid rock, ravine, bramble and bullet. They could not slay, yet they would not quail. For an entire day the assault was kept up, and only after a loss of three thousand men did Sherman decide that the Kenesaw heights were impregnable. Thomas' army held the front with brilliant skirmishes for three days longer while McPherson swung to the right and marched towards the Chattahoochie. This forced Johnston out of the Kenesaw fastnesses, and, giving up Marietta, he retreated to the line of the Chattahoochie, hard pressed by Thomas, who continually broke his rear guard and rendered every stopping point north of the river untenable.

Sherman's armies were across the Chattahoochie almost as quickly as Johnston's, and Atlanta was but a few miles away. Johnston had girdled Atlanta with fortifications, but resolved to defend it from the heights of Peach Tree Creek, which runs northward from Atlanta and empties into the Chattahoochie. Sherman marched to the attack with Thomas on the right, Schofield in the centre and McPherson on the left. Hood had superseded Johnston and adopted the general plans of the latter. Seeing an interval between the forces of Thomas and Schofield, he massed his troops on the Buckhead road and fell mercilessly (July 20) on the weak spot. Hooker's three divisions, together with the divisions of Newton and Johnson, caught the full force of

HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Born in Boston, Mass., May 12, 1850; graduated at Harvard, 1871; graduated from Harvard Law School, 1875; admitted to Suffolk bar, 1876, but preferred literary pursuits; served two terms in State Legislature; elected, as a Republican, to 50th, 51st and 52d Congresses, to represent Sixth Massachusetts District; distinguished as a writer on economic, financial and commercial subjects, though none the less as an industrious and able representative; member of the Committees on Naval Affairs and Election of President and Vice President.

the terrible blow. The assault was so impetuous and determined that the Union troops were rolled back for a time. But defeat only served to arouse their mettle. They rallied and amid one of the fiercest conflicts of the war, which was sustained for nearly five hours, they won a victory which cost the Confederates fully 5,000 men, and defeated entirely Hood's design of saving Atlanta by means of the formidable entrenchments along Peach Tree Creek. It was in this momentous battle of Peach Tree Creek that General Harrison, as commander of his brigade, crowned so honorably the record he had made at Resaca. His brigade, the first of Ward's Division, 20th Corps, was handled with the utmost skill and bravery throughout this entire onset of Hood, and it was in recognition of this fact that Hooker, as he rode the lines on the day after the fight, sought out the young commander, and in his own brusque way exclaimed, as he shook hands and congratulated him :—By G—d, Harrison, I'll make you a brigadier-general for your gallantry in this fight!"

That this was no idle promise was proved by the following hearty letter of communication, written to the Secretary of War a few months later. The letter is worthy of study as showing the solid military qualities which had attracted the critical eye of General Hooker, and which had contributed so much to the success of his corps in point of discipline and in prowess :—

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN DEPARTMENT,
CINCINNATI, O., Oct. 31, 1864.

HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War :

I desire to call the attention of the Department to the claims of Colonel Benjamin Harrison, of the 70th Indiana Volunteers, for promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General Volunteers.

Colonel Harrison first joined me in command of a brigade of Ward's division in Lookout valley preparatory to entering upon what is called the campaign of Atlanta. My attention was first attracted to this young officer by the superior excellence of his brigade in discipline and instruction, the result of his labor, skill and devotion. With more foresight than I have witnessed in any officer of his experience, he seemed to act upon the principle that success depended upon the thorough preparation in discipline and esprit of his command for conflict more than on any influence that could be exerted in the field itself, and when collision came his command vindicated his wisdom as much as his valor. In all the achievements of the Twentieth Corps in that campaign Colonel Harrison bore a conspicuous part. At Resaca and Peach Tree Creek the conduct of himself and command was especially distinguished. Colonel Harrison is an officer of superior abilities and of great professional and personal worth. It gives me great pleasure to commend him favorably to the honorable Secretary with the assurance that his preferment will be a just recognition of his services and martial accomplishments.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOOKER,
Major-General Commanding.

Of the battle of Peach Tree Creek, Captain Thomas S. Sloan, who had command of Knapp's Battery, says:— "After all the Union batteries had been silenced excepting my own, the crisis was reached, and our only support was the remnant of a regiment of which Adjutant-General T. H. Elliot had command. Just then a fine soldierly man wearing a colonel's uniform stepped up and said, 'I see, Captain, you are sorely pressed. I do not belong to your corps and have no orders, but if you will let me I will file in an Indiana regiment to your support.' He did so, and the Indianians held their position and checked the advance of the enemy. We poured canister into the Confederates till our supply was

exhausted. I subsequently learned that the officer who had addressed me was Colonel Ben Harrison, and the regiment was the 70th Indiana. There is not a survivor of Knapp's Battery that does not hold him in grateful remembrance for his heroic action in coming to our assistance at a moment when it seemed impossible to avert disaster. There is not the possibility of a doubt that the day was saved by Harrison's prompt action, and it was this that attracted Hooker's attention, resulting in deserved promotion."

General Harrison had, as an officer, the unbounded confidence and esteem of his men. He exacted of them a rigid discipline, but they learned to know that this was necessary in order to save the organization from capture and rout, and to win victories. His men tell many anecdotes of him on his Atlanta march, all of which tend to show his interest in them. His big horse was always a conspicuous object and not without its uses, other than strictly military. Says a member of the 70th Regiment, "I recall one incident that was thoroughly characteristic of Harrison. It was during one of the marches toward Atlanta. I was very footsore and weary, and was limping along by the side of a very muddy road. The chaplain of the 70th was walking near me, and one of the boys who was done up was riding the chaplain's horse. Just then General Harrison came splashing along through the mud. He saw me limping and asked me by name what the matter was. When he saw my blistered feet he jumped off his horse, and in spite of my protests, lifted me into the saddle."

"That was nothing," replied a one-armed veteran who heard the above, "General Harrison didn't ride his horse a quarter of the time on these long marches. He almost always had one of the boys astride of him."

When Sherman awoke the next day after the memorable

battle of Peach Tree Creek, he found Hood had evacuated all the entrenchments in his front. Thinking he had gone to Atlanta, the Union armies were turned to face the city. But Hood had really swung off to Decatur and when Sherman approached Atlanta, his left flank caught the full fury of an attack from Hood. It was in this that the gallant McPherson lost his life and it was here that Logan played so conspicuous a part in saving the day. The armies of Thomas and Schofield were under fire all day from the fortifications of Atlanta, and it was only when the army of the latter was swung round to Logan's assistance that Hood's onset was broken. The Union loss was 3,722 and the Confederate loss 8,000.

Sherman's investing army was now subject to almost daily attacks from Hood's forces, in the midst of which he gradually worked the entire Union army from left to right till he had drawn Hood all the way to Jonesboro', where battle was given. The long Confederate lines were punctured everywhere. This meant the fall of Atlanta. At night as the Union army slept in their trenches and along the line of the railroads they had captured they were aroused by the sound of heavy explosions, twenty miles away to the north. It was the exploding store-houses, trains and magazines of Atlanta, fired by the rear-guard of Hood, whose van was already well southward. Atlanta was indeed won, and the bugle notes of victory came from the very heart of Georgia to cheer the people of the north, freshen other struggling armies, and inspire the Government. It was September 1st, 1864.

General Harrison had not been absent from his command since he entered the army. He now took advantage of the cessation of active hostilities which followed the capture of Atlanta, and secured a temporary leave of absence with

HON. WILLIAM D. WASHBURN.

Born in Livermore, Maine, January 14, 1831; graduated at Bowdoin, 1854; studied law and located in Minneapolis, 1857; Surveyor-general of Minnesota, 1861; largely interested in manufactures and railways; elected to State Legislature, 1858–71; elected to 46th, 47th and 48th Congresses; elected, as a Republican, to U. S. Senate for term beginning March 4, 1889; Chairman of Committee on Mississippi River Improvements; member of Committees on Civil Service, Commerce, Education and Labor, Post-offices and Post Roads, etc.; earnest, able and conscientious statesman, deeply interested in the fortunes of the Northwest.

orders to report to Governor Morton. On visiting Indianapolis he found that the very patriotic and kindly disposed Democratic Supreme Court of his State had declared the office of State Reporter vacant, and that another person had been elected to serve out the regular term. It wasn't much wonder that the righteous indignation of all loyal people was aroused at this outrage, nor that they firmly resolved to reinstate the old incumbent. He was given a nomination for the place on the Republican ticket and during his thirty days of absence from the army he made a dashing canvass of the State. The result was a triumph for him, and a reinstatement in the office which had been ruthlessly torn from him while fighting the battles of his country.

By the time this victory of peace was won, and the enemy behind rebuked in a signal manner, Hood had evolved his plan of invading Tennessee, and Sherman his plan of marching to the sea. Thomas was given supreme command of all the forces deemed necessary to checkmate Hood, and had begun the work of retreat to and concentration at Nashville. Thither Hood would come, and there would be that grand ingathering of troops whose purpose would be to crush him. This was the situation which General Harrison met on his way back to the army. He would still be with his old commander and in the capacity of Brigadier-general. More than that he would still be with those whom he had learned to look upon as the bravest of the brave, for Wood, who had earned promotion by the splendid management of his division throughout, but especially in that last desperate demonstration at Lovejoy, was in command of a corps at Nashville.

During October and November Thomas had been carrying on the work of concentration at Nashville and of fortifying the place. On December 2, 1864, Hood appeared and

began the work of investment. Thomas laid his plans of battle, which placed Smith's 16th Corps on his right, Wood's 4th Corps in the centre, opposite Montgomery Hill, and Schofield's 23d Corps on the left of Wood and in reserve, and Steedman on the extreme left. General Harrison's Brigade was therefore in the centre and in front of the enemy's strongest point. The battle opened on December 15, with an advance of Steedman on the left. While he conducted a bloody charge there, Smith charged on the right and at the same time Wilson's cavalry swung clear round to the Confederate rear. Then came Wood's valiant 4th Corps, which moved with traditional spirit up the rough and entrenched acclivities of Montgomery Hill, driving the enemy to their interior lines. Schofield also pushed steadily up, and when all the lines were abreast and connected, the whole pressed vigorously forward during the entire afternoon, gradually rising over almost interminable obstacles and meeting everywhere with deadly fire, till the last lines of the enemy's entrenchments were captured. Wood's 4th alone found a line beyond the second. This was instantly carried by assault, with the capture of eight pieces of artillery and 500 prisoners. The enemy now broke and fled, his natural line of retreat being down the Franklin pike, opposite which Wood was. He forced pursuit with as much spirit as he had conducted the fighting. Forming his brigades and divisions he plunged after Hood's broken forces, and ceased only when darkness became dense. The next morning the 4th Corps found Hood at bay on the Harpeth Hills, and took a position across the Franklin pike. When the other corps came up and took places to the right and left, battle was again joined. Wood's corps led the assault, up over severer obstacles than those of the day before, and with greater losses. The other corps rushed on

the enemy's right and left, while their attention was concentrated on the terrific struggle along the centre, and literally folded in their flanks, capturing dozens of guns and thousands of prisoners. In a short while all was tumult within the enemy's lines, and then their forces began to break into disastrous retreat down the steep slopes, leaving a wreckage of wagons, caissons, muskets, knapsacks and blankets behind. They reached the Franklin pike and poured down it a confused mass. Close at their heels hurried the relentless 4th Corps, in a chase of several miles, gathering prisoners and spoils all the way till night descended in mercy on the beaten army. The day saw 4,500 prisoners, 53 cannon and thousands of small arms fall into the hands of the victors.

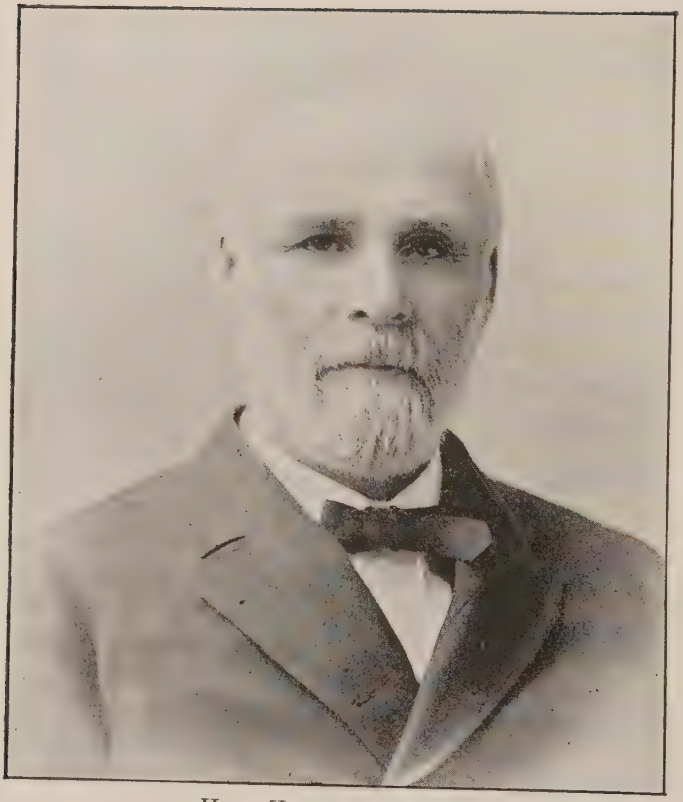
The next morning dawned cold and rainy, but by daylight the 4th Corps was on the march with Wilson's cavalry, the remaining corps following. Every here and there the desperate rear guard of the enemy made a stand to check the hot pursuit and gain a little time, but such attempts resulted only in the loss of other guns and further discomfiture. It was thus that Wood's Corps and the cavalry followed impetuously to Harpeth River, where they found the pontoons destroyed. Others were improvised and Wood was again on the enemy's track, but he could not catch up till Hood was safe beyond Duck River, having again burned the pontoons. Wood and Wilson hastily improvised others and crossed to continue the pursuit. On the 24th of December they twice met and drove the enemy's rear guard and pushed it so vigorously as to save the bridges across Richland creek. On Christmas morning they attacked and drove their foe out of Pulaski, and on the same evening General Harrison's Brigade rushed upon them at a point which they had entrenched for the night's bivouac and drove them pell-mell into the distance and darkness.

Thus was Hood's flight and the relentless pursuit kept

up till, with a mere fraction of the force and the paraphernalia he brought to the invasion of Tennessee, he recrossed the Tennessee a thoroughly discomfited, broken down General.

Whether in the battles around Nashville, or in the dashing, persistent pursuit of Hood by the 4th Corps, General Harrison's Brigade was one of the most valiant and reliable contributors to the victories which left the valley of the Mississippi free from Confederate intruders and in full possession of the Union armies. There was really nothing more to do in that direction, and now all eyes were turned to the east to witness the culmination of rebellion.

It was during this period of respite, and while the sturdy corps of the west, with their immense equipments, were being transferred to the Atlantic, to meet the coming of Sherman and to bring the inevitable end nearer in time, that General Harrison was called to the bed-side of his children who were lying at death's door with scarlet fever. General Harrison was himself stricken with the dread disease in malignant form, and for a time his life was despaired of. A vigorous constitution at length pulled him through, and he was no sooner on his feet than he started east and joined his command in the Carolinas. It was now attached to Sherman's army, which had accomplished its march to the sea and was already well on its way to its goal at Raleigh. He remained with Sherman till the surrender of Johnston, and then, the war ended, he passed north with his victorious companions in arms, participated in the final grand review at Washington, and thence returned to his family and his profession bearing the well-deserved honors of a Brigadier-general. In his "Twenty Years of Congress," Mr. Blaine says:—"Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, commanded a brigade before he was 30, and made a military record which did honor to the illustrious name which he inherits."



HON. HENRY L. DAWES.

Born at Cummington, Mass., October 30, 1816; graduated at Yale and studied law; engaged in law practice and editing; elected to State Legislature, 1848–49–52; elected to State Senate, 1850; member of Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1853; District Attorney for Western District of Massachusetts, 1853–67; elected, as Republican, to 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42d and 43d Congresses; elected to United States Senate to succeed Chas. Sumner and took seat, March 4, 1875; re-elected in 1881 and 1887; one of the oldest and most respected Senators; Chairman of Committee on Indian Affairs and member of Committees on Appropriations, Civil Service, Fisheries, etc.

IV.

IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

On his return to the paths of peace, General Harrison found the office to which he had been elected in the fall of 1864 a valuable aid to him, and he performed its duties till the end of the term in 1868. He was then pressed to become a candidate for re-election, but declined to accept because it was necessary for him to turn his full attention to his professional business, which, by this time, had recovered from the effects of long absence in the field, and bade fair to be far more prosperous than ever before. To this he directed all his energies for several years, constantly adding to his fame as a lawyer, and as an orator, for he was ever active in political campaigns. Indeed, it was during these years that he came into prominence in his State as one of those reserved and solid political factors whom it would be wise to draw upon when there was hard work ahead. So long as Governor Morton lived he was first in the minds and hearts of Indiana Republicans, but after his death General Harrison was, as if by a process of natural selection, largely looked to as a coming power in Republican counsels. Not that he was a politician in the ordinary sense; he could not buttonhole or drum for favor; but he understood political situations thoroughly, had an accurate judgment of results, was prudent in counsel and a powerful organizer and worker. Above all he was frank and fearless, and friends as well as enemies knew exactly where to find him.

It was in the full exercise of these qualities that he de-

clined the nomination of his party as candidate for Governor of his State in 1876. The choice therefore fell to Godlove S. Orth, upon whom the enemy opened such a merciless fire as to break down his political record and force his withdrawal from the ticket. General Harrison was absent from the State when this disparaging event took place, yet the State Central Committee immediately put him on the ticket to fill the vacant place and recover, as best he might, the valuable ground which had been lost. In tendering the nomination to General Harrison the Committee said: "The nomination was made for no other purpose than to subserve the best interests of the Republican party in Indiana, and in tendering it to you we do so with the assurance that you will receive the united and earnest vote of the entire party." The nomination was entirely unsought and undesired, but it was accepted in terms that indicated a sense of public duty. He was less inclined than before to accept it, but fully appreciating the emergency and knowing that time was already too short in which to repair damages, he consented to lead a forlorn hope in order that his party organization might be conserved and its principles find an exponent amid the desperate conflict already on.

His opponent, popularly known as "Blue Jeans Williams," had a strong following in the State, and he shared in addition the strength of the Tilden-Hendricks ticket, together with the inspiration offered by Chairman Barnum's copious boodle. Though General Harrison went into the campaign at a late hour and under auspices from which a man of less heroic mould would have shrunk, he went in earnestly and with such vigor as to set the adverse current quite towards himself and his party. He worked during the short time at his disposal with herculean energy, spoke eloquently and often, and by election day had his party in trim for a brave,

if losing, fight at the polls. The result was defeat, yet a victory of great moment for him personally, for he ran nearly 2,000 votes ahead of his ticket, and nearly 4,000 ahead of the Republican strength as shown by the Congressional vote. This memorable contest, his many brilliant speeches to large and enthusiastic audiences, the sacrifices he made for his party, the speedy gathering up of broken forces, the energy which he infused into a despairing situation, gave him a national reputation which placed him in high demand where like vigor and eloquence were a necessity, and after the October election his voice was heard in nearly all the States of the East in sturdy plea for the candidates on the Presidential ticket. From that time till 1880 he was busily engaged in the pursuit of his profession, and in 1879 or 1880 he aided the Federal Government in prosecuting certain Democratic conspirators for importing ballot-box stuffers into Southern Indiana. Their leader was convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary.

In the campaign of 1880 he worked with his wonted energy and brilliancy, and this time with greater success, for not only the Republican Presidential ticket carried Indiana by 6,641 plurality, but a Republican Legislature was elected. This event brought the name of General Harrison prominently forward as a candidate for United States Senator to fill the place about to be vacated by Joseph E. McDonald. There were other aspirants for the honor, among whom were Walter Q. Gresham, Godlove S. Orth, John C. New and W. C. Cumback, but the voice of the party was practically unanimous for the man who had been fighting its desperate battles for so many years, and who had been one of its most conspicuous figures in every campaign since 1856. All the contestants withdrew before the nominating caucus met and left the field clear for General Harrison. He

was nominated by acclamation. His election gave the greatest satisfaction to his party in the State, and it was felt that the honor rested on one who was in every respect splendidly equipped for its maintenance.

He assumed his Senatorial duties on March 4, 1881. The session was an extra one for executive business only, and he simply attended and voted when occasion arose. When the Senate reassembled in the following December, at the beginning of the Forty-seventh Congress, and opportunity offered, he assumed his share of the duties of the body. During his six years term he grew rapidly in public estimation and proved himself fully equal to the requirements of his high office and the expectation of his friends. His reputation became national as one of the best lawyers and ablest debaters in that grave and eminent body. The leading legislation of his term comprised, first, the Tariff Act of 1883. On this important measure, prepared by the Tariff Commission with great deliberation, he took high protective ground, and his arguments showed that he was thoroughly versed with the system under which American manufactures had prospered since 1861, and American labor had been able to maintain itself on a plane far above the pauper rates of the old world. It was while this bill was pending that he had occasion to cross swords with his colleague, Senator Voorhees, who had made a rather reckless address in which he affected to ridicule the Republicans for seeking to lower duties on perfumery. Senator Harrison stepped into the area in front of the desks, and, approaching the Democratic side, began a reply, lasting nearly an hour, in which he unmercifully belabored his doughty colleague, and left him entirely subdued. It was one of the most brilliant and masterly efforts ever made on the floor of the Senate, and

Mr. Voorhees never after sought occasion for a similar encounter.

The Tariff views of General Harrison have found frequent expression since the expiration of his Senatorial term, and on March 20, 1888, before the Marquette club of Chicago, he took occasion to say:—

"There is another question to which the Republican party has committed itself, and on the line of which it has accomplished, as I believe, much for the prosperity of the country. I believe the Republican party is pledged and ought to be pledged to the doctrine of protection to American industries and American labor. I believe that in so far as our native inventive genius—which seems to have no limit—and our productive forces can supply the American market, we ought to keep it for ourselves. And yet this new captain on the bridge seems to congratulate himself on the fact that the voyage is still prosperous notwithstanding the change of commanders. He seems to forget that the reason that the voyage is still prosperous is because the course of the ship was marked out before he went on the bridge and the rudder tied down. He has attempted to take a new direction since he has been in command with a view of changing the sailing course of the old craft, but it has seemed to me that he has made the blunder of mistaking the flash light of some British light-house for the light of day. I do not intend here to-night, in this presence, to discuss this tariff question in any detail. I only want to say that in the passage of what is now so flippantly called the war tariff, to raise revenue to carry on the war out of the protective duties which were then levied, there has come to this country a prosperity and development which would have been impossible without it, and that a reversal of this policy now, at the suggestion of Mr. Cleveland according to

the line of the blind statesman from Texas (Mills), would be to stay and interrupt this march of prosperity on which we have entered. I am one of those uninstructed political economists that have an impression that some things may be too cheap; and I cannot find myself in full sympathy with this demand for cheaper coats, which seems to me necessarily to involve a cheaper man and woman under the coat. I believe it is true to-day that we have many things in this country that are too cheap, because whenever it is proved that the man or woman who produces any article cannot get a decent living out of it, then it is too cheap."

The second great measure before the Senate during his term was the "Civil Service Bill" introduced by Geo. H. Pendleton, Democrat, Ohio. Though introduced by a Democrat, strange to say, Democrats were its chief opponents. Senator Harrison favored the bill, and voted for it, but at the same time he contended for the perfect freedom of all men, no matter whether Government employés or not, to contribute their money to the cause they espoused. On February 12, 1884, he expressed himself very pointedly on this subject:—

"I should regard myself," he said, "as little less than a slave if as an American citizen I believed, let me say for illustration, in the doctrine of protection, in which my colleague also takes an interest, and was the head of a bureau here, receiving a salary of $8,000 a year, I was not allowed to contribute to the purchase of documents or the distribution of speeches that were calculated to impress upon the public mind the views I held."

He voted for the Civil Service bill, and later on, after President Cleveland became the appointing power, he vigorously criticised instances of alleged departure of the Administration from the letter and the spirit of the law.

His consistency on this subject is shown by the following extract from a speech with which he opened the Indiana campaign of 1882:—

"I want to assure you to-night that I am an advocate of Civil Service Reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me often to utter the wish with an emphasis I do not often use that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens, and long to be able to give my time and energy solely to those public affairs that legitimately relate to the honorable trust which you have committed to me."

The third great question which pressed for solution during his term was contained in the "Anti-Chinese Bill." As Senator Harrison's record on this bill has been subjected to criticism it is well to know all about the measure. The proposition to close our doors upon the Chinese race was very slow in finding any favor at all in those sections where the Chinese, as they presented themselves on the Pacific coast, were personally unknown. For many years the Pacific coast delegation appealed to Congress in vain for protection from the incoming Chinese hordes. Gradually their plea began to have effect. The evidence they presented of the unfavorable influence on the coast of the Chinese immigration and the danger of that part of the United States being overrun by Mongolians began to be considered, and gradually won converts in the East to the Pacific coast view of the Chinese.

Their sentiments were incorporated into a bill known as House bill 5804. On April 27, 1882, it came up in the Senate for discussion. Its title was "A bill to execute certain treaty stipulations with the Chinese." Mr. Harrison made two brief speeches on that bill, occupying only a few

lines of *The Record*, and printed at pages 3359 and 3360 of *The Congressional Record*, Forty-seventh Congress, first session. He contended that as the treaty used the word "laborers," it was not in the power of Congress to enlarge the meaning of that word by legislation; that whatever the word "laborers" implied in the treaty, the same word would be held to have the same meaning in any law that Congress might pass. He asked Senator Grover, of Oregon, the pertinent question, whether, if he found the proposed law and the existing treaty in conflict, he would still persist in passing the law and thus "trampling upon our treaty obligations?" To this inquiry Mr. Grover made no reply. Mr. Harrison's logic was invincible, and it was sustained by the Senate. It may be added that this position has since been maintained by every President and Secretary of State down even to Grover Cleveland and Secretary Bayard.

The controversy over the bill led to its amendment so as to make it fit in with existing treaties, and in this form Senator Harrison became its ardent champion and voted for it on final passage. His entire attitude was that of a man who saw clearly how useless and dishonorable it was to legislate in the face of a solemn treaty, yet that the spirit of the proposed legislation was proper, provided it could be so arranged as to prevent conflict with treaty obligations. Of the amended bill, as reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Senator Harrison was a member, Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, a chief promoter of anti-Chinese legislation, said:—"I have no kind of doubt that it is as strong a bill as could be drawn, and, at the same time, have kept within the provisions of our treaty. . . . . It is one of the best bills ever reported by any committee on the subject."

In 1886 a supplementary anti-Chinese bill was introduced in the Senate, when General Harrison was still a member

HON. HENRY M. TELLER.

Born in Allegany co., N. Y., May 23, 1830; admitted to bar in N. Y.; removed to Illinois, 1858; thence to Colorado, 1861; on admission of Colorado to Statehood, 1876, was elected to U. S. Senate as a Republican; re-elected to U. S. Senate for the term 1876–1882; appointed Secretary of Interior by President Arthur in 1882, and served till March 3, 1885; re-elected to Senate in 1885, and again in 1890; Chairman of Committee on Privileges and Elections; member of Committees on Judiciary, Private Land Claims and Indian Tribes.

of that body. It was passed without a division, Senator Harrison voting for it both in the committee and in the Senate. Thus General Harrison was from first to last in favor of the principle underlying the Chinese legislation.

After Mr. Harrison's nomination for the Presidency at Chicago, 1888, Senator Mitchell made an investigation of his record bearing on all the anti-Chinese bills and says:— "I found that he voted against two measures providing a form of restricting Chinese immigration. I talked with General Harrison about the matter and he gave me the grounds on which he objected to the proposed legislation, which were that the measures were in direct conflict with existing treaties. He held that before we passed statutory laws we ought to abolish the existing treaties, so as to avoid conflict. That is exactly the position I occupy, and about two years ago I introduced a joint resolution in the Senate proposing the abrogation of every treaty with China, commercial as well as those on the subject of immigration, and my intention was to introduce a general Chinese immigration bill which would take the form of statutory law.

"One of the bills that Senator Harrison opposed was passed by both houses and was vetoed by President Arthur. During one of my talks with Senator Harrison he said: 'As a lawyer I could not afford to vote for laws which I knew to be in direct conflict with existing treaties and which I knew could not stand even the test they would be subjected to in the lower courts. I did not want to make myself ridiculous by voting for a measure which would conflict with a treaty placed on the statute books during my own term of public life.' I have," continued Senator Mitchell, "received many inquiries from my constituents on this subject, and I have without exception stated that I considered

General Harrison's record on this subject not inimical to the interests of our people.

"But the Chinese question will not be the paramount issue in the approaching campaign on the Pacific slope. We have secured as much restriction of immigration and as much restriction of the rights of Chinese in our country as we can get at this time. Our people are practically quiet on the subject and the issue at the polls in November will be fought on the tariff. The recent election in Oregon shows what position the people there hold on this subject. The nomination of General Harrison, it seems to me, was the best possible solution of the complication in which the convention found itself this morning."

And Representative Morrow, of California, also said:— "Mr. Harrison's views on the question are entirely satisfactory to us in California. We are all protectionists over there, we are more interested in knowing what is going to be done with prunes and raisins, and borax and manufacturing interests generally than in inquiring what a man thought on the Chinese question in 1882. Besides, we think we have got the matter settled at last, and we certainly prefer Mr. Harrison's views of the inviolability of treaty obligations to those of Mr. Cleveland, who proposes to introduce Chinese products free of duty. The California delegation took a leading part in bringing about Mr. Harrison's nomination, and we shall give him our votes, though, of course, you know who our first choice was."

And the newspapers of the Pacific coast thus view the record:—

General Harrison's course on the Chinese question was honorable, just and right. It never would be called in question except by men whose regard for the obligations of their country was not subordinated to a disposition to play the

part of a paltry demagogue to ignorance and prejudice. Harrison did not oppose restriction of Chinese immigration, but insisted that the acts of restriction should be kept within the provisions of the treaties. Was not this right?—*Portland Oregonian* (*Ind. Rep.*).

There are no weak points in Harrison's record. The attempt to create a prejudice against him on this coast on the Chinese question will not cost a vote. Harrison stood in 1878 where Eastern men generally stood.—*San Francisco Call* (*Ind.*).

General Harrison, like a great many other prominent men in the East, Democrats as well as Republicans, did not at first grasp the importance of the Chinese question, but as soon as he saw that the rights of American labor and the basic principle of Protection were involved in it, he wheeled into line on the side of America, and has ever since been the firm and determined opponent of Chinese admission.—*San Francisco Chronicle* (*Rep.*).

Mr. Harrison's position on the Chinese question some years ago seems to be the main reliance of the Democracy for beating him. California is not anxious to know what Mr. Harrison thought about Chinese immigration ten years ago. The voters of this State want to know what Mr. Harrison thinks of Chinese immigration to-day.—*San Francisco Post* (*Rep.*).

The record of General Harrison, the nominee of the Republican party for the Presidency, is identical with that of every anti-Chinese citizen of California. The coming of these people was at first encouraged by almost everybody in this State. It took twenty years of close study and examination into all the details of the question to bring about that radical change in the opinion of California and the Pacific States in relation to these interlopers which is now

universally entertained. General Harrison underwent precisely the same change of sentiment on this question as our own people, with this difference, that the process in his case was much speedier.—*San Francisco Bulletin* (*Ind.*).

The "Coin and Currency" question was an important one during Senator Harrison's term. On this question he expressed himself in 1885, thus:—

"I have never believed that cheap money, in the sense of depreciated money, was desirable. I have always thought and said that the interest of the laboring and farming classes especially was in the line of stable, par currency. The silver question may be presented in divers forms. I am a bimetallist by my strong conviction. I think silver should be preserved as a coin metal, but it is very apparent that the present ratio between silver and gold is out of joint, and that something ought to be done to correct this inequality.

"The aspect of the question here is this: The President has taken strong grounds for a peremptory stoppage of the coinage of the silver dollar, and the fight is on in his own party in the House. Nothing we can do in the Senate on the question will be of any avail."

One of General Harrison's strongest titles to public respect and admiration is found in the fact that when the inflation craze spread over the country and swept from their moorings many who have since lived to regret their infatuation, he never wavered in his fidelity to the cause of honest money.

On the bill to prevent the importation of contract labor Senator Harrison made an argument in favor of keeping out immigrants brought to this country under stipulations to work for lower wages than those prevailing here. This was his comment on the subject:—

"If I understand the evil sought to be guarded against

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Born in Peekskill, N. Y., April 23, 1834; graduated at Yale, 1856; studied law and admitted to bar; elected to New York Assembly, 1861–62; elected Speaker; elected Secretary of New York State, 1863; Tax Commissioner of N. Y. city; nominated Minister to Japan; General Counsel for Hudson R. & N. Y. Central R. R's, 1866 and 1869; candidate for Lieut.-Governor, 1872, but defeated; Regent of State University, 1874; President of N. Y. Central R. R., 1885; President of Union League and Yale Alumni Association; prominent candidate for President of U. S. before conventions of 1884, 1888; manager of Harrison forces in convention of 1892; celebrated as orator and lecturer; spoken of as Secretary of State to succeed Blaine.

by this bill it is that men living in foreign countries where the rate of wages and the conditions of labor are so different from what they are in this country shall not there, under the strain that is upon them, make a contract which, of course, is governed by rates of wages there that put them in the power of the person furnishing the money when they come to this country, and have a tendency to import the rates of foreign labor and establish them here. I see nothing to prevent any person who is benevolently disposed, who has no personal interest in an individual, from aiding any one to come here, provided only he does not attempt to secure the money he advances by a mortgage on that man's labor."

He also spoke on the alien ownership of land, taking a decided stand against the evil of foreigners acquiring large bodies of public and private lands to the exclusion of actual settlers, who would improve small farms and make for themselves homes.

During the first session of the 48th Congress, General Harrison was heard in many speeches on the Blair Educational bill, to which he made many serious objections. In one speech on the subject he said:—

"There is a giving that pauperizes; there is a giving that enfeebles. It is against that sort of giving that I protest. The wisest managers of benevolence in these late years have come to the conclusion that giving should always be so regulated as to save self-respect, and awaken in the mind of the recipient the lost faith in his ability to take care of himself. We should carefully avoid that giving which creates a disposition to lean and to expect, which takes the stamina and strength and self-dependence out of men. That principle will, I think, apply to the giving which is proposed by this bill."

After the inauguration of President Cleveland, and when the Republicans of the Senate took issue with the Executive about appointments, Senator Harrison was heard on several occasions in speeches of a critical character.

On the question of the admission of Dakota as a State, his reports and speeches took favorable and earnest ground, and they have never been answered, though for partisan reasons the right that is clearly due the populous and enterprising Territory has been withheld for years. It was Senator Harrison's strong plea for Dakota which first roused the country to realize the injustice done to a great body of honest settlers by the partisan exclusion of that Territory from Statehood. The Union soldier had no more eloquent and faithful champion than Senator Harrison, throughout his Senatorial career. All his speeches in their behalf evince the warmest affection for the "boys who wore the blue," and the deepest solicitude for their welfare. He was really the father of that pension bill which was asked for by the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, and afterwards approved by them.

In the course of a speech in which he had occasion to reply to Senator Voorhees' claim to be "the soldier's friend," General Harrison gave utterance to these earnest words, which seem to apply as well to a good many others: —"The man who lived through the War of the Rebellion and did not make some sacrifice for the success of the Union armies—who did not say one brave word, or do one brave thing, when, with bare and bleeding breasts, our soldiers looked into the face of hell for their country—can never be enshrined as the soldier's friend."

Senator Harrison had been for years a member of the Mississippi Improvement Commission, and in the Senate he was a strong advocate of liberal appropriations for im-

proving the navigation of that important waterway. His advocacy of self-government for Alaska was able and earnest.

General Harrison's service to the nation in the Senate won for him the respect of his fellow-members, and the appreciation of an intelligent constituency. The place he early and easily assumed as a statesman of marked ability, large information, sterling Republicanism and unblemished character, he held to the end of his term.

General Harrison's term in the Senate expired March 4, 1887, and the Legislature to choose his successor was to be elected in the fall of 1886. That was a memorable campaign, and was to a large extent General Harrison's own campaign, though many able assistants stood by his side in the fight. The Democrats had carried the State in 1882 by 11,000 majority and in 1884, during a Presidential year, by nearly 7,000 majority. They had so gerrymandered the State as to make a Republican majority in the Legislature next to impossible, and they boasted that it would require a popular majority of 20,000 in the State to overcome the effects of their gerrymander. Add to this the shameful perversion of the civil service rules which President Cleveland permitted in order that his party might succeed, and you can form a faint idea of the odds against the Republicans. There were grave doubts in the minds of many shrewd Republicans about the practicability of an energetic campaign at all, and General Harrison was almost alone in the opinion that the Legislature, or even the State, could be carried. This is no disparagement of other Republican leaders, who did yeomen service in the campaign, but it is a fact. The result attested General Harrison's wisdom and his work. The Republicans carried the State and came within a hair's breadth of carrying the Legislature, though the apportionment had been gerry-

mandered so as to give the Democrats at least forty-six majority on joint ballot, and Senator Voorhees said he should feel personally disgraced if that was not the result. General Harrison carried every Republican legislative district and twenty-two Democratic districts, and had it not been for the advantage the Democrats had in the State Senators holding over, he, instead of Mr. Turpie, would have been the United States Senator. As it was, the aggregate Republican majority on the Legislative ticket was over 10,000, and the polling of it has been distinctively recognized as Harrison's victory. The Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor was elected by 2,093 majority. The Democratic majority on joint ballot in the Legislature was but two, but it was sufficient to elect Turpie, though grave doubts hung over the legality of the choice.

HON. ALFRED A. TAYLOR.

Born in Carter co., Tenn., 1849; educated at Edge Hill and Pennington, N. J.; admitted to bar, 1870; elected to Tennessee Legislature, 1875; distinguished as an orator and in Republican councils in the State; candidate for Governor in 1886 and defeated by his brother, R. L. Taylor; delegate to Republican National Convention in 1888; elected as Republican to 51st and 52d Congresses to represent First Tennessee District, comprising twelve counties; member of Committee on Elections and Invalid Pensions; an earnest, popular member, who commands the respect of his peers.

V.

RETURN TO HIS PROFESSION.

On General Harrison's retiracy from the Senate in 1887, he returned to Indianapolis and resumed his profession. His reputation had been so well established at the bar, that he was soon in the midst of a practice which embraced a high class of cases.

This period, too, contributed to the general enlargement of his fame, and to the firm place in popular affection which came about with contact with the people and fuller knowledge of his ability and steadfastness to principle. He came into demand as an orator on many public occasions, and his speeches were then as now models of manly, clear, forcible, pointed thought, suited exactly to the occasion. Perhaps the one which attracted widest attention was that delivered at a banquet of the Marquette Club, March 20, 1888, on which occasion his theme was "Citizenship and Franchise," —a theme which has grown in importance in his bosom ever since, and has become vital to the principle of free institutions. In it he said:—

"What questions are we to grapple with? What unfinished work remains to be done? It seems to me that the work that is unfinished is to make that Constitutional grant of citizenship, the franchise to the colored men of the South, a practical and living reality. The condition of things is such in this country—a Government by Constitutional majority—that whenever the people become convinced that an administration or a law does not represent the will of the majority of

our qualified electors, then that administration ceases to challenge the respect of our people, and the law ceases to command their willing obedience. This is a Republican Government, a government by majority, the majority to be ascertained by fair count, and each elector expressing his will at the ballot-box. I know of no reason why any law should yield respect to any executive officer whose title is not based upon a majority vote of the qualified electors of this country. (Applause.) What is the condition of things in the Southern States to-day?

"The Republican vote is absolutely suppressed. Elections in many of those States have become a farce. In the last Congressional election in the State of Alabama there were several Congressional districts where the entire vote for members of Congress did not reach 2,000, whereas in most of the districts of the North the vote cast at our Congressional elections goes from 30,000 to 50,000. I had occasion to say a day or two ago that in a single Congressional district in the State of Nebraska there were more votes cast to elect one Congressman than were cast in the State of Alabama at the same election to elect their whole delegation. Out of what does this come? The suppression of the Republican vote; the understanding among our Democratic friends that it is not necessary that they should vote because their opponents are not allowed to vote. But some one will suggest: 'Is there a remedy for this?' I do not know, my fellow-citizens, how far there is a legal remedy under our Constitution, but it does not seem to me to be an adequate answer. It does not seem to me to be conclusive against the agitation of this question even if we should be compelled to respond to the arrogant question that is asked us: 'What are you going to do about it?' Even if we should be compelled to answer: 'We can do nothing but protest,' is it not worth while

here, and in relation to this American question, that we should at least lift up our protest, that we should at least denounce the wrong, that we should at least deprive the perpetrators of what we used to call the usufructs of the crime? If you cannot prevent a burglar from breaking into your house, you will do a great deal toward discouraging burglary if you prevent him from carrying off anything, and so it seems to me that if we can, upon this question, arouse the indignant protest of the North and unite our efforts in a determination that those who perpetrate these wrongs against popular suffrage shall not by means of those wrongs seat a President at Washington to secure the Federal patronage in a State, we shall have done much to bring this wrong to an end. But at least while we are protesting by representatives from our State Department at Washington against wrongs perpetrated in Russia against the Jew, and in popular assemblies here against the wrongs which England has inflicted upon Ireland, shall we not at least in reference to this gigantic and intolerable wrong in our own country, as a party, lift up a stalwart and determined protest against it?

"But some of these independent journalists, about which our friend Macmillan taught, call this the 'bloody shirt.' They say we are striving to revive the strife of the war, to rake over the extinct embers, to kindle the fire again. I want it understood that for one I have no quarrel with the South for what took place between 1861 and 1865. I am willing to forget that they were rebels, at least as soon as they are willing to forget it themselves [laughter,] and that time does not seem to have come yet to them. But our complaint is against what was done in 1884, not against what was done during the war. Our complaint is against what will be done this year, not what was done between 1861 and 1865. No bloody shirt—though that cry never had any terror for

me. I believe we greatly underestimate the importance of bringing the issue to the front, and with that ofttime Republican courage and outspoken fidelity to truth denouncing it the land over. If we cannot do anything else, we can either make these people ashamed of this outrage against the ballot or make the world ashamed of them."

General Harrison's personal courage, soldierly qualities and great value as a citizen never came into more timely play than during the great railway strikes of 1877, which hung for so long as a threat upon the peace of communities, and resulted in enormous losses of property. In this instance, he unconsciously wrote one of the brightest chapters of his life, not only by his devotion to the cause of law and order, but by his readiness to aid the working man to obtain the highest possible reward for his labor. The strikers had burned $4,000,000 of property in Pittsburg on July 22. The strike had spread West and was at its height in Indianapolis, where was a United States Arsenal with 300,000 stand of arms, and only twenty soldiers to protect them. The Mayor became alarmed and called the citizens in mass-meeting. Every citizen of influence went. A committee of safety was formed, irrespective of party. One of its members was Senator McDonald, who declared that "the city must be protected from mob violence by thorough organization." The meeting also appointed a committee to wait on the strikers. General Harrison was on this committee. The part he took is shown by the record:—

"General Harrison counseled obedience to the law, but at the same time very strongly expressed the opinion that the wages were too low and desired very much that they should be raised. He was willing to use his influence with those in authority in favor of this desired increase."

Meanwhile the traffic was blockaded. Merchants could do no business. Fear of the destruction of property was growing. With terror upon them another meeting of leading citizens was called on the 26th, at which speeches were made by men of all parties declaring that life and property were in danger and that riot must be prevented. The result was a stronger Committee of Public Safety, composed of Joseph E. McDonald, General Benjamin Harrison, Hon. Conrad Baker, General John Love, General T. A. Morris, General Daniel McCauley and General W. Q. Gresham. Governor Williams issued a proclamation, in response to which the citizens enrolled themselves in companies. The Governor requested General Harrison to take command of the companies. He declined, saying he was already a captain of one company. General McCauley was then placed in command. General Harrison's company was assigned to protect the armory. It was the key to the situation. There alone could the rioters obtain arms, and it must be defended at all hazards.

General Harrison at once put the buildings, which were scattered over several acres of ground on the outskirts of the city, in a complete state of defence. While thus engaged in military duty, he did not cease exerting all his influence to bring about peace. He was urged to attack the strikers and compel them to disperse. His reply, prompt and stern, has been preserved in its very words. It was:

"*I don't propose to go out and shoot down my neighbors unless it is positively necessary to do so in order to uphold the law.*"

Not many days afterwards the strike was over. Two hundred of the strikers had been arrested by order of Judge Drummond, of the United States Court, for interfer-

ing with the operations of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, then in the hands of receivers. These misguided men were all sent to prison for ninety days. Thereupon General Harrison voluntarily made a plea in their behalf. He represented to Judge Drummond that the object of their prosecution had been accomplished; that they had been taught that they were, like all other citizens, subject to the law, and General Harrison expressed his belief that they would heed the lesson if released. Judge Drummond granted the plea, and as the prisoners filed out to freedom many of them grasped General Harrison's hand and thanked him for his interference in their behalf.

VI.

HARRISON AT HOME.

Family life is an infallible index to character. Where domestic relations are on a high plane, the participants cannot be without excellent heads and good hearts.

In person, President Harrison is not of commanding height—rather below than above the medium. He has, however, a straight, strong, broad-shouldered figure, fine soldierly bearing, a genial face and an easy dignity of manner, that render him noticeable and distinguished among men. His head is large, shapely, and indicative of those mental powers and resources which have placed him in the first rank of American thinkers and statesmen. His hair and beard are of the blonde type, and do not show distinctly the traces of gray which years and the cares of State might well excuse.

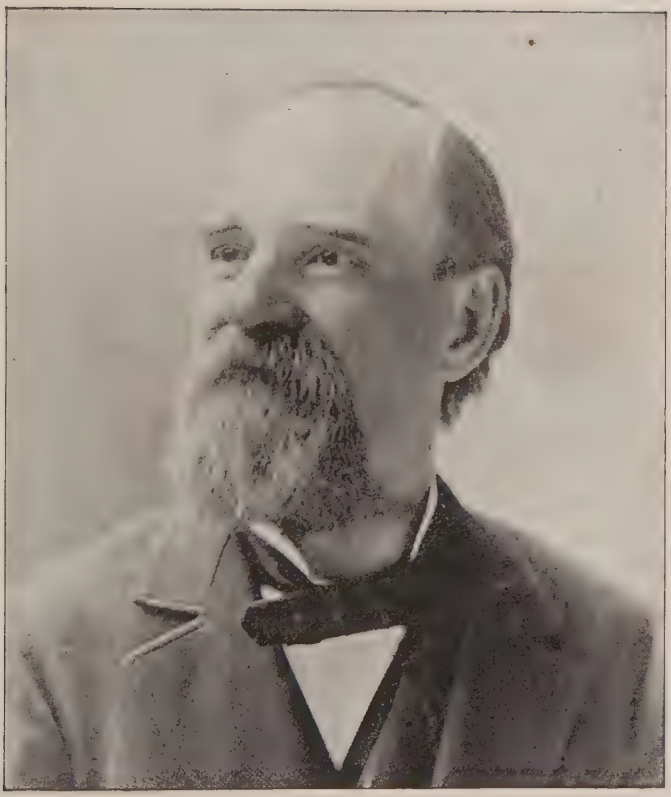
President Harrison has been charged with being a reserved, unapproachable, cold man. There is no ground for such a charge, and it is never made except by those who thereby express disappointment over failure to receive favors, or to use him for their purposes. He is not a bold man, nor an effusive one. He is not a man of promises on the spot, to break them upon deliberation. But he is most genial and urbane as a host, and as an official is the most willing to receive and the readiest to hear of all men in public place. It is equally true that he always has something pleasant, tactful and instructive to say—the high art of dismissing with grace and dignity.

Orderly industry is a characteristic of Harrison's civic and

public life. His powers of application are wonderful, and his perfection of mental discipline is such that disorder does not set in when it is necessary to pass from one subject to another. Said his law partner in Indianapolis, "I have seen Mr. Harrison, when in the Senate, come home to his law office in Indianapolis, drive straight from the train, enter and inquire what he could do, just as if his official absence had hardly occasioned a break in his business. Then he would take up the transcript of a case, study it during the night, go into court the next morning a perfect master of its details, and make one of his most powerful arguments." This same trait appeared in all his State and National Campaigns, fitted him for that accuracy and power which characterized his debates in the Senate, and for the preparation of those clear and intelligent reports which rendered his Committee work so useful and impressive.

President Harrison has not acquired wealth. His income from his law practice, after it became established, was always ample for the maintenance of his plain, substantial home in Indianapolis, but his charities were large, and he found more delight in dispensing them than in hoarding his surplus income. Rich and poor were alike welcome to his gates, and his home was reckoned as one of the most hospitable in Indianapolis.

All his life he has been a consistent member of the Presbyterian Church, and an industrious worker along the lines of practical religion. Devout by nature, he enlarges faith by charitable works, and enforces the doctrine, by example, that labor for the betterment of society is best bestowed when it is given a good practical turn. With him the church is an institution as well as a sect, an agent for the amelioration of mankind as well as a medium for the expression of



HON. CHARLES FOSTER.

Born near Tiffin, Ohio, April 12, 1828; educated in Newark Academy and by private tutors; entered mercantile and banking business and engaged for fifty-six years in same; elected, as Republican, to 42d, 43d, 44th and 45th Congresses; served on Committees of Claims, Appropriations and Ways and Means; Chairman of sub-committee appointed to inquire into Louisiana affairs, 1875; appointed by President, Chairman of Commission to negotiate treaty with Sioux Indians, May, 1888; received votes of Republican members of Ohio Legislature for Senator, 1890; appointed Secretary of Treasury, by President Harrison, to succeed Hon. Wm. Windom, deceased, February 7, 1891; an able, conservative financier.

personal belief and a form for the regulation of personal conduct.

For years President Harrison held the position of elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis, and labored in its Sunday-school. He was punctilious about attendance, and morning and evening, on Sundays, he and his family occupied the family pew. Even when called away on business, he strove to shape it so that he could reach the city on Saturday nights in order to enjoy the quiet and fulfil the duties of a home Sabbath. In one of his many hot campaigns he was pressed to address a meeting on Saturday night. "I am," said he, "entirely willing to speak to you, but you must have a locomotive ready to carry me to Indianapolis before midnight."

He was devoted to his large Bible Class, composed of young men, students, clerks, and others. His method of Bible-class teaching was so alive with interest that the class speedily swelled in number and its ranks were always full. His skill in cross-examining witnesses in the court-room was turned to good purpose in the Bible-class, where his method of instruction was what is styled catechetical, consisting rather of questions so directed as to draw out the knowledge of the pupils than of didactic lectures, meant to drive facts or theories into their heads. His pupils hold him in the highest esteem, and his library and home show many evidences of their affection in the shape of books and other class souvenirs, presented on appropriate occasions, such as Christmas and anniversary days.

In his devotion to religion and to the cause of Christian work and charity, Mr. Harrison has ever been ably seconded by his estimable wife. For years she taught the Infant Department of the Sunday-school of her church, and presided over its Aid and Missionary Societies. Her name is in-

separably connected with those organizations which have for their object the civilization of Indians and the extending of aid to missions and schools in foreign lands.

In personal appearance, Mrs. Harrison is of matronly figure; finely chiseled features; beautiful and expressive face; brown, vivacious eyes; dark, slightly gray-lined hair; firm, smiling lip. She is of easy, affable manner; pleasing, intellectual speech; and in full possession of the happy accomplishment of imparting her sense of comfort and welcome to all who meet her.

They have reared two children, a son and daughter. Their son, Russell Harrison, married Miss Saunders, daughter of Senator Saunders, of Nebraska. He is an editor and has acquired newspaper interests in Helena, Mont., and New York. The daughter, Miss Mary Harrison, married James R. McKee, an Indianapolis merchant.

During his six years of Senatorial life, Harrison and his family did not aspire to the show and cost of housekeeping in Washington. Yet, having the prestige of illustrious families on both sides and the graces of cultured life, they took conspicuous place in the social realm of the National Capital and dispensed a modest but well-bred hospitality. Miss Harrison ranked as one of the most popular girls in Washington, while Mrs. Harrison endeared herself to a large and influential circle of friends.

Since the occupancy of the White House by President Harrison and his family, they have perpetuated, as far as practicable, the home life which all along gave them so much happiness and appeared so beautiful. Mrs. Harrison, by her knowledge of art, by her understanding of household arrangement, by her social tact and graces, has made the Presidential mansion a handsome and comfortable abode, a social centre, a source of delightful influences, and has easily

maintained and greatly added to the lustre of the title, "First Lady in the Land." Mrs. McKee has been her almost constant companion, and her children serve to flush the home with their sunlight. The venerable father, Mr. Scott, passes his declining days in the midst of his children of three generations. President Harrison himself finds daily escape from the cares of State in the bosom of this happy family, participates in their councils, joins in their charities, their church goings, their private and public entertainments, their stated receptions, and beautifies by the dignity of his presence and the constancy of his relations the home that the nation has provided for its honored servants.

VII.

A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

General Harrison's name was mentioned in connection with the Presidency in the National Republican Convention of 1880, but he promptly checked the movement in his favor. It was again favorably considered in 1884, and this time far more seriously than has ever been made public or, possibly, than General Harrison himself ever suspected.

When the Republican party met in National Convention at Chicago, June 19, 1888, it was felt by every delegate that the work before him required unusual care and deliberation. President Cleveland had been placed in nomination for a second term by the Democrats at St. Louis, and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, had been named for the Vice-Presidency. This made the geography of the political situation comparatively clear. In 1884 the Democrats had had a decided advantage by their wisdom in placing the head and tail of their ticket in the two most doubtful States. They had now virtually abandoned Indiana—left it open as an arena. As to the issues of the campaign, these had been made plain by the President's message, the Mills Tariff Bill, framed in pursuance of the message, and the St. Louis platform, which indorsed both the message and the bill. Long before the Convention many estimable and real candidates loomed into prominence, the chief names being Harrison, Ind.; Sherman, O.; Alger, Mich.; Gresham, Ind.; Allison, Iowa; Depew, N. Y.; Phelps, N. J.; Hawley, Conn.; Rusk, Wis. There was, therefore, a wide field to select from. The Convention was not like other Conventions in the respect that

HON. STEPHEN B. ELKINS.

Born in Perry co., Ohio, September 26, 1841; graduated from University of Missouri, 1860; admitted to bar, 1863; practiced in New Mexico for several years; elected to Territorial Legislature in 1866, and soon after made Attorney-General of Territory; appointed U. S. District Attorney in 1868; elected Delegate to Congress, 1873; re-elected in 1875; Delegate to Republican National Conventions, 1884, 1888; large business and banking interests in Santa Fé, also large land owner; moved to West Virginia, and extensively engaged in mining, timber, railroad and banking interests; appointed, by President Harrison, Secretary of War, December 17, 1891.

it had the work of deliberate selection before it. It was not there, in better judgment at least, to accept a candidate nor to declare one. Its 800 delegates came, all with honest views, but some shaded with local coloring, to get a clear view, and to do the best for the party and country.

The Convention passed through several steps or stages on its way to a clear view of the situation. The Blaine influence was divided. His true friends soon convinced themselves that it would not do to nominate him against his will. His false friends wanted to nominate him at any cost. Their differences were compromised by recognition of the fact that it would be fatal to nominate him till the other candidates whom his letters had invited into the field were ready to unite in asking him to take the nomination. This fact never came, and never could have come, for with so much and such elegant material in the field, a wise choice was always a possibility.

The second stage was partly geographic and partly political. It involved the doubtful States, and especially New York, which, if not the most doubtful, was at least the most important. The geographic feature soon settled itself. The wisdom of placing the candidates so that the debatable fields of New York and Indiana should be occupied, very soon impressed the Convention. This not only involved deference to the wishes of those States, but a feeling that their choice would amount to a pledge of success. Mr. Depew was settled upon by the New York delegation as one likely to carry his own State. But he very prudently looked over the ground and found that he might endanger other States. He withdrew after the third ballot, and when his State had made up its mind to stand for General Benjamin Harrison, who not only represented another doubtful State, but who was deemed the best candidate for New

York, the other doubtful States and all the sure States. The three ballots on June 22 were all field ballots. The two ballots of June 23 were under the changed situation. They brought no very material increase of strength to the other nominees before the Convention, but showed its drift toward Harrison, and really foreshadowed his nomination, as soon as the silent strength, which was still hoping for a chance to nominate Blaine, should feel the hopelessness of its endeavors. This it was forced to feel on June 25, when a telegram from Mr. Blaine was read asking his friends to respect his previous letters. Sunshine broke upon the Convention at once. The three ballots of the 25th were easy ones. Every doubtful State whirled into the Harrison line. After five days of discussion and voting—eliminating all the other candidates and having established the correct principles of choice, the Convention chose General Harrison with surprising unanimity, on the eighth ballot, his vote being 544, as against 118 for Sherman; 59 for Gresham; 100 for Alger; 5 for Blaine and 4 for McKinley. They wanted a doubtful State; Harrison lived in Indiana. They wanted a Western candidate; Harrison was in the West, and not far enough from the East to be out of knowledge and sympathy with Eastern thought. Harrison lived near the centre of population and was almost a composite photograph of the nation's want. He was neither granger nor anti-granger. He had good running qualities of another kind. He had a home and cherished it. He had all the homely qualities which are the best gift to an American who seeks for office by the popular vote. He had a good record. He had an ancestry, but did not depend upon it. These were the reasons which led the Convention, after six days honest and conscientious examination, to nominate him. It was the best possible outcome. He was the one candidate

whom many of the shrewdest leaders had months before fixed upon as the most available and easiest to elect. As to the party, he was the one happy issue out of all its troubles, and this the Convention was fortunate enough to find out.

Never in the history of political parties was a nomination for the Presidency received with fuller accord and more heartfelt acclaim than that of General Harrison by the Republican party. Its fitness, not only as to the man but to the entire political situation, was apparent to all the moment the choice of the Convention was announced. The country took it up with cheers, demonstrations, speeches, spectacular displays, quaint devices and mottoes, that reminded older voters of the enthusiasm which was awakened by the nomination of the "Hero of Tippecanoe" in 1840, and charmed younger voters with their originality and appropriateness. Factional differences, which had sundered the party in certain sections and States, were instantly healed, and the resolve became common to make the name of Harrison a shibboleth and sign of victory. As a set off to the "red bandana," whose use by Mr. Thurman had caused its acceptance as a Democratic guidon, the American flag, of handkerchief size, appeared in all the shop windows, and the populace bought them by the tens of thousands. Thus armed, they good naturedly met the flaunts of the "red bandana" by a wave of their colors, and the facetious remark, "This is a good enough flag for me."

The press, without respect to party, was singularly unanimous in its favorable expressions, and this applied to both candidates on the Republican ticket. There was no disposition, even among the bitterest partisan sheets, to be other than respectful to the name and character of the nominees.

The scene in Indianapolis, after the nomination of General Harrison was announced, was tumultuously joyous.

Throats could not cheer enough, nor could men, women, boys and girls find words adequate to the expression of their feelings. Throngs of happy visitors poured in upon him to tender congratulations, and amid all the crush and excitement he maintained a modest reserve and mental poise which showed his complete mastery of self. His impromptu responses to the various visitors—committees, clubs and unorganized crowds—were singularly apropos in thought and felicitous in expression. They were watched intently by Republicans all over the country, and Democratic ears were on the alert for something inadvertent, but his every utterance was in keeping with the situation which drew it forth. He was ready, never effusive nor self-adulatory, always guarded and to the point, said the right thing in the right spirit, and left the happiest of impressions. We regard these after-nomination speeches of General Harrison as models in their way, and impossible except with a man of wide information, abundant self-control and the fullest appreciation of the most delicate situations.

July 4, 1888, was fixed as an appropriate day on which to notify General Harrison officially of the high honor conferred by the Chicago Convention. Accordingly the committee appointed for this purpose, at whose head was Mr. Estee, Chairman of the Convention, called at the General's residence on the above date, and extended to him a formal notification. With a seriousness and earnestness which fully showed the depth of his feelings and the gravity of the situation, the General made the following reply:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: The official notice which you have brought of the nomination conferred upon me by the Republican National Convention recently in session at Chicago, excites emotion of a profound, though of a somewhat conflicting character. That,

HON. BENJAMIN F. TRACY.

Born at Owego, N. Y., April 26, 1830; educated at Owego Academy; admitted to bar, May, 1851; elected District Attorney of Tioga co., 1853, on Whig ticket; re-elected, 1856; elected to Assembly by Republicans and War Democrats, 1861; Recruited 109th and 137th N. Y. Regiments in 1862; became Colonel of the 109th; wounded in battle of Wilderness; assigned to command of Military Post at Elmira; brevetted Brigadier-General, March 13, 1865; resumed practice of law in New York city; appointed District Attorney for Eastern District, N. Y., October, 1866; resumed law practice in Brooklyn; became distinguished as an advocate; chosen Secretary of Navy by President Harrison, March 5, 1889; able and advanced official and ardent advocate of a new navy.

after full deliberation and free consultation, the representatives of the Republican party of the United States should have concluded that the great principles enunciated in the platform adopted by the Convention could be in some measure confided to my care, is an honor of which I am deeply sensible and for which I am very grateful. I do not assume or believe that this choice implies that the Convention found in me pre-eminent fitness or exceptional fidelity to the principles of government to which we are mutually pledged. My satisfaction with the result would be altogether spoiled if that result had been reached by any unworthy methods or by a disparagement of the more eminent men who divided with me the suffrages of the Convention. I accept the nomination with so deep a sense of the dignity of the office, and the gravity of its duty and responsibility, as altogether to exclude any feeling of exultation or pride.

"The principles of government and the practice in administration, upon which issues are now fortunately clearly made, are so important in their relations to the national and to individual prosperity that we may expect an unusual popular interest in the campaign. Relying wholly upon the considerate judgment of our fellow-citizens and the gracious favor of God we will confidently submit our cause to the arbitrament of a free ballot.

"The day you have chosen for this visit suggests no thoughts that are not in harmony with the occasion. The Republican party has walked in the light of the Declaration of Independence. It has lifted the shaft of patriotism upon the foundation laid at Bunker Hill. It has made the more perfect union secure by making all men free. Washington and Lincoln, Yorktown and Appomattox, the Declaration of Independence and the Proclamation of Emancipation are naturally and worthily associated in our thoughts to-day.

"It gives me pleasure, gentlemen, to receive you in my home and to thank you for the cordial manner in which you have conveyed your official message."

The timely and acceptable nomination of Harrison in 1888 was backed by a powerful platform of principles, affirming in unmistakable language the cardinal doctrines of the party, especially those relating to a free and untrammelled ballot, protective duties, schools, pensions, civil service, commercial interests and foreign relations. The platform and the candidate gave to the party a full affirmative position in the campaign. Mr. Cleveland's startling free-trade message of the previous year was readily accepted as a gage of battle, followed as it was by his renomination.

The campaign was one largely of discussion and entirely free from the bitter and offensive personalism which had disgraced that of 1884. Perhaps never in our political history was the issue of "Protection *vs.* Free-Trade" so sharply defined nor so dispassionately handled. It was recognized at a very early day that the fighting ground embraced the four doubtful States of the North, to wit, New York, Indiana, Connecticut and New Jersey, though the Democrats laid claim to one or more of the Northwestern States. Both the leading parties labored strenuously to convince the public mind of the correctness of their economic views, and speech-making, mammoth parades and spectacular arguments became the order of the day. The early autumn elections, as those of Oregon, Vermont and Maine, showed that the trend of sentiment was toward the Republican party, and in the end that party carried New York and Indiana, together with all the States it had carried in 1884, thus securing 233 electoral votes out of the total of 401, or 31 more than was necessary to elect its candidate.

Features of the campaign were the confidence manifested

by both parties up till the day of the election, and the dismissal of the English Minister at Washington, Lord Sackville West, for having written a letter to one of his countrymen, naturalized in the United States, which gave offence because it was construed as an unwarranted interference with our political affairs. The result of the election was so decisive as to be cheerfully acquiesced in by the Democratic party. The Northwestern States had not swung from their Republican allegiance, as was expected by the Democracy, and the border States showed a decided drift toward the Republican idea, the issue in one of them, West Virginia, being in doubt for weeks after the election. The Congressional elections were also favorable to the Republicans, the Democratic majority of fifteen in the Fiftieth Congress being turned into a Republican majority of from 5 to 10, dependent on the result of several contests, mostly in districts in the Southern States.

VIII.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1889—*March* 4, 1893.

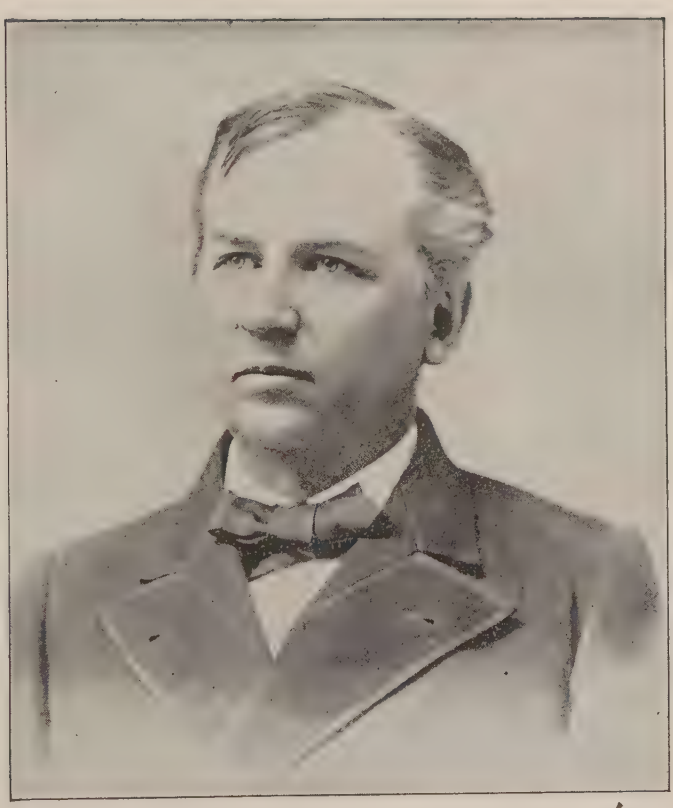
FIFTY-FIRST AND FIFTY-SECOND CONGRESSES.

THE political revolution which had swept the Republican party out of power in 1884 ran its course in four years, and was followed, in 1888, by a counter-revolution which proved even more disastrous to the Democratic party. The Republicans had profited by the discipline of defeat; the Democrats had failed to convert the prestige of a first into a second victory. The Cleveland administration, strong in some respects, had proven weak in its failure to cope with the questions that fell to it as legacies, in the vagueness of its foreign policy and, particularly, in its assumption of the doctrine of free-trade.

It was the good fortune of Harrison to unite the factions of his party and to stand forward as a trusted and commanding exponent of its wishes respecting the vital issues of the campaign. He, therefore, came into office under excellent auspices. The campaign had been squarely, masterfully fought on the basis of living ideas and principles. Partisanship had been at low ebb, and the bitterness of recrimination had not marred argument or inflamed passions. He had the confidence inspired by ability, sound sense, patriotic instinct and conservative purpose. The national verdict had been emphatic in his favor. He was free from the complication of pre-election pledges, and fully abreast of his party, even though it should choose to signalize its triumph by

HON. JOHN W. NOBLE.

Born in Lancaster, Ohio, October 26, 1831; graduated at Yale, 1851; studied law and admitted to St. Louis bar in 1855; moved to Keokuk, Iowa, 1856; acquired a large practice; entered Union army as 1st Lieutenant Co. C., 3d Iowa Cavalry; participated in campaigns which led to fall of Vicksburg; Judge-Advocate-General of Army of Southwest, 1862–63; brevetted Brigadier-General; served throughout the war; resumed practice at St. Louis; appointed U. S. District Attorney for Eastern Missouri, 1867; tendered position of Solicitor-General by Grant, but declined; continued practice; appointed Secretary of Interior by President Harrison, March 5, 1889; an able official, and conscientious statesman.



HON. JOHN WANAMAKER.

Born in Philadelphia, July 11, 1838; educated at Landreth public school; entered mercantile business, 1861; helped to organize Christian Commission, which dispensed supplies to soldiers during the war; chairman of Irish Famine, Yellow Fever and other public committees; member of Board of Finance, and chairman of Bureau of Revenue of Centennial Exposition; declined Republican nomination for Congressman-at-large in 1882; also nomination for Mayor of Philadelphia in 1886; Republican elector in 1888; chairman of Republican Advisory Committee in 1888; appointed Postmaster-General by President Harrison, March 5, 1889; distinguished for energy, and organizing and disciplinary talent.

new departures. But there was no immediate need of these, especially at first, for the transit from a Democratic to a Republican administration meant, for every practical purpose, a taking up of the political thread which had been broken in 1884, and a resumption of the party traditions which had been shelved during a minority period.

President Harrison evinced his ability to govern wisely by the selection of his cabinet. While it was chosen with due respect to location, the choice showed tactful deference to party leadership, and a wholesome wish to avoid local jealousies. Fitness, however, was a prime object. He sought a working, as well as an advisory body, and the popular judgment was that he found it. As first chosen, it was composed as follows:—

Secretary of State	James G. Blaine, Me.
Secretary of Treasury	William Windom, Minn.
Secretary of War	Redfield Proctor, Vt.
Secretary of Navy	Benj. F. Tracy, N. Y.
Secretary of Interior	John W. Noble, Mo.
Atty.-General	W. H. H. Miller, Ind.
Postmaster-General	John Wanamaker, Pa.
Secretary of Agriculture	Jeremiah Rusk, Wis.

President Harrison's inaugural was looked for with great interest. It proved to be a plain, practical, pointed paper of 4,300 words, which called attention to the fact that the beginning of this twenty-sixth administration was a step over the threshold into the second century of our national existence under the constitution; to the growth of the protective policy, its vindication in practice and at the polls, and the necessity for its continuance; to the propriety of laying aside race prejudices and conceding equal rights to all; to the evils of monopoly; to the necessity for discriminating against the immigration of foreign paupers; to the maintenance of

the "Monroe Doctrine," especially in view of the Samoan troubles and the danger of foreign governments coming to the aid of the Panama Canal scheme; to a civil service which should fulfil the law and at the same time not shield official negligence or incompetency; to a graduation of duties and taxes so as to limit revenue to public needs; to the necessity for a stronger navy, for the encouragement of commerce, for revised pension laws, and for laws which would insure a free and pure ballot.

It was regarded as an exceedingly thoughtful and strong State paper, and was accepted by his party as a definite and satisfactory outline of what it had a right to expect of its chief representative. The Senate, in extra session, confirmed his selection of a Cabinet. Thus opened the Harrison Administration, whose mission was to apply and perpetuate the ideas that had prevailed at the national election, and shape public affairs on the lines indicated by the constitutional majority. In that mission there was to be no failure, for no one understood it better, nor had any statesman ever more ability and resolution to fulfil it.

THE SAMOAN AFFAIR.

This matter came as a legacy from the Cleveland Administration, whose foreign policy had proved so weak and vacillating as to encourage foreign encroachments. The little island, or group of islands, over which King Malietoa presided, lay in the Pacific ocean, and near the line of traffic between our shores and those of China and Japan. Germans, English and Americans traded there, and used them as coaling stations and harbors of refuge. Many of these, mostly Germans, had settled there and engaged in planting and merchandise. The strategic value of the islands was very great. The German element, with the sanction of Germany, deposed

Malietoa, and placed a rival in power whom they could command. This act, equivalent to annexation to Germany, had the sanction of England. King Malietoa appealed to the United States. In accordance with the "Monroe Doctrine," President Harrison acted very promptly, restored the deposed king, and saved the absorption of the islands by foreign powers. For this, he received the approval of all parties at home, nor was there any diplomacy abroad that dared to insist further on the right to commit so brazen a theft, and one destined to work us great commercial injury.

In his message to the second session of the Fifty-first Congress President Harrison thus speaks of the adjustment of the Samoan trouble: "The Samoan treaty, signed last year (1889) at Berlin, by the United States, Germany and Great Britain, has begun to produce salutary effects. The formation of the new government agreed upon will soon replace the disorder of the past by a stable administration. Malietoa is respected as King."

THE BEHRING SEA QUESTION.

This, too, came as a legacy to Harrison's administration. The Cleveland administration tried to settle it by arresting poaching seal ships, but this only complicated matters by law suits and threats of reprisal.

The history of the case dates back to 1799, when Russia granted to the Russian–American Company the exclusive right to catch seal and discover new lands from Behring Strait down to latitude 55°. In 1821 Russia published a ukase extending her jurisdiction down to 51° and prohibiting all foreign vessels from coming within 100 miles of her coasts and islands. England and the United States protested. The result was treaties with both countries, in 1825, permitting navigation and fishing in the Pacific Ocean. The

English treaty was slightly different in its wording from the American, and Lord Salisbury at a very late date took the ground that the Behring Sea was not recognized as a separate body of water by the treaty. The American position was that it was so recognized.

The sale of Alaska to the United States, by Russia, in 1867, put an end to the rights of the Russian–American Company, or rather merged them in the United States. Those rights had been fully respected by England during the existence of the company, to wit, for a period of sixty-eight years, forty-two of which years were after the treaty of 1825, and it was well recognized that the 100 mile limit was for the protection of fur-bearing animals.

But no sooner was the sale of Alaska to the United States made than Canadian poachers began their raids on seals in the waters of Behring Sea. So inhuman and greedy did they prove that they robbed our licensed sealing vessels of their annual profits and threatened the extinction of the animals. Against these encroachments and this robbery the United States objected. This is the form in which the question struck the Harrison administration. It was seen to be a delicate question and one far-reaching in its results. Title to water and to rights in a sea which may be either open or shut as suits the parties most interested, was something which could not be settled in a day, nor by any courts except those created upon an international basis. Hence, arbitration was proposed. Pending negotiations looking to an arbitration treaty and final submission, a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon for the year 1891, by which both England and the United States agreed to prevent seal poaching. The treaty of arbitration not having been concluded, the United States wished to revive the *modus vivendi* for 1892. To this Lord Salisbury objected, and the result was that

HON. J. M. RUSK.

Born in Morgan co., Ohio, June, 1830; reared on farm; moved to Wisconsin, 1853; engaged in farming near Vernon; elected Sheriff, 1855; elected Coroner, 1857, and to Legislature, 1861; enlisted in 25th Wisconsin Volunteers, 1862; chosen Major, same year, and Lieutenant-Colonel in 1863; with Grant at Vicksburg, and Sherman at Atlanta and to the sea; elected Bank Comptroller of Wisconsin on Republican ticket by 10,000 majority in 1865; elected to Congress from 6th Wisconsin District in 1870; re-elected to 43d and 44th Congresses; rose to distinction as debater and worker; elected Governor of Wisconsin, 1881, and twice re-elected; selected by President Harrison as Secretary of Agriculture, March 5, 1889; an earnest, able official and a credit to the Administration and nation.

negotiations were endangered. But by tactful handling of the matter, a treaty of submission was finally agreed upon, and the whole matter will be finally settled by a board of international arbitrators, to assemble in Paris during the fall of 1892. Considering the intricacy and importance of this question, not to mention the dangers involved, the disposition of it in the way proposed, is one of the greatest achievements of Harrison's administration.

THE ITALIAN QUESTION.

The massacre of Italians in the city of New Orleans, by a mob of citizens, filled the country with horror and gave occasion for a demand for reparation on the part of Italy, which amounted almost to a threat of war. The matter assumed serious aspect for a considerable time, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Italy could be made to understand that the laws controlling such cases were State and not national laws. However, the administration was not slow in calling the attention of Congress to this defect in our system, and in asking that the National government enact laws for the punishment of such crimes as breaches of treaties. Italy withdrew her minister and for a time diplomatic relations were severed. By exercise of patience and quiet firmness on the part of the administration, Italy came to see that the United States could not be coerced. She finally yielded her demand, agreed to restore former relations, and was met on the part of the United States by payment of a small and complimentary indemnity of $25,000, under a precedent established in the case of the Spanish sufferers in New Orleans in 1853, which indemnity was to be construed as no recognition of any right on the part of Italy, but merely as an expression of friendly feeling on the part

of the United States and of regret at the horrible occurrence.

THE CHILIAN IMBROGLIO.

In January, 1891, civil war broke out in Chili between the forces of President Balmaceda and the Congressional or Insurgent forces. During this war, an insurgent vessel, the *Itata*, which had taken a load of arms on board at San Diego, Cal., was seized by the United States Marshal for violation of the neutrality laws. The vessel put to sea with the Marshal on board and made her escape after landing the Marshal at a remote point. The offending vessel was pursued, captured and returned to San Diego for adjudication of her case.

This action was construed by the Insurgents, who afterwards drove the forces of Balmaceda to the wall and came into full possession of his government, as an exhibition of hostility to their cause by the United States. They, therefore, without hearing, began to exhibit intense animosity toward our government and toward all our people, especially those who represented us officially in the Chilian State or waters. This animosity pervaded the masses in Chili, as well as her officials. It was inflamed by the British and German traders and adventurers in Chili, and their newspapers in Europe took up the Chilian cause and made it almost their own. They were especially severe on our Minister to Chili, Mr. Egan, because he permitted the American legation to give right of asylum to political refugees in Santiago—a right never before denied by civilized nations and even then practiced by the English and German legations.

On October 16, 1891, this animosity became so intense that a Chilian mob, encouraged, if not directly aided, by the police and soldiers in Valparaiso, attacked the sailors of the

United States cruiser *Baltimore* in the streets, killed a petty officer outright and wounded nine seamen, one of whom afterwards died. The news of this bloody and unprovoked assault sent a thrill of indignation across our land, and it was felt to be such an insult to our flag as only war could wipe out. The administration sent a prompt inquiry into the motive and asked for suitable apology. The tone of the reply was impudent and it greatly intensified the feeling against Chili. President Harrison immediately began to put the navy in preparation for an offensive demonstration, determined no longer to brook delays nor further compromise situations. Seeing that he was determined to seek reparation by force and to maintain the honor of the American flag at all hazards, reason began to dawn in the Chilian mind, and action was promised after judicial inquiry had been instituted and a report had.

At this juncture, November 14th, the new President of Chili sent Don Pedro Montt as Minister to Washington. He announced that he came to "cultivate and maintain the relations of peace and friendship between Chili and the United States." President Harrison's response to him was looked for by the whole country with intense interest, for never had foreign minister been accredited and received under precisely similar auspices. The response was most able and filled the country with delight. It showed how there could be no feeling in this country except that of good will for a sister American Republic, how there was no desire to intermeddle in her internal affairs, how the *Itata* affair and all others representing acts on the United States had been in accord with a desire to observe the neutrality laws and avoid the intervention from which this country had suffered so much during her civil war. It closed with the hope that the sway of passion would soon end and that

speedy, peaceful and honorable adjustment of all differences might be had.

There was no threat of war, no bluster in the response. It was dignified, pointed, tactful, but so firm, as that the new minister could not but be impressed with its depth and solemnity. In his message to Congress, December 9, 1891, President Harrison reviewed the Chilian question with great fullness and seriousness to date, and promised to make it the subject of a special message, if the judicial investigation then going on proved disappointing in its results, or if further needless delay intervened.

This promised special message came on January 25, 1892. Its cause was the receipt of the conclusions reached by the Chilian *Fiscal General*, or Board of Crimes inquiry. These conclusions were unsatisfactory to President Harrison, in that they did not show that our sailors had not been assaulted, beaten, stabbed and killed for what they had done, but rather showed that such assaulting and killing was for what the "Government of the United States had done, or was charged with having done, by its civil officers and naval commanders." In this message President Harrison reviewed the whole situation in a masterly manner, submitted all the correspondence, and asked Congress to take appropriate action.

It was well known what this message meant. It was a turning over of the question to the nation, stamped with the ultimatum of the Administration. No message, certainly none of modern times, so quickly received the approval of the country, or so deeply touched the patriotic pride of our people. As a declaration of American policy it took rank with that of James Monroe, in which was first promulgated the "Monroe Doctrine." A powerful and generous people accepted it with the greatest unanimity, as their own procla-

mation to the world of a determination to assert their national rights and maintain their national dignity, without any disposition to despoil or humiliate a weak, erring and overconfident neighbor.

Such was the firmness of the President's position, such the nature of the step, such the imposing character of the nation's response, that a result came which might not have been reached by the arts of strict diplomacy for long, long years. Three days after the submission of the President's message to Congress, he was enabled to submit the announcement to Congress and to the country, that Chili had extended all necessary apologies for her conduct, had agreed to see that reparation for injuries was made, and had satisfactorily complied with all our demands. Thus war was averted by the tact and firmness of President Harrison, one of the most dangerous questions of his administration quickly and securely settled, and the national honor fully vindicated.

PROTECTION AND RECIPROCITY.

The Fifty-first Congress was Republican, but with a slim working majority. With a weak and vacillating President, without one who was not popular, strong, determined, and who had not the full confidence of his party and country, there would have been little hope with so small a majority in Congress, of effecting legislation of so important a kind as that to which the Republican party stood pledged. But with such a man as President Harrison to inspire, suggest and lead, the Republican majority proved industrious, united and effective. No Congress ever legislated on a higher plane, nor passed upon so many measures of purely national import; nor did any President ever find so many of the great measures, sanctioned by his party's platform and recom-

mended and discussed in his messages, incorporated in a single Congress into the laws of the land.

The Administration stood pledged to the Tariff Act of 1890, to the protective principles it involved, to the reductions and increases it provided, to the greatly enlarged free list it furnished, to the diminution of all taxation to the lowest consistent point. It redeemed the pledge of the party to the people in approving and making into law the McKinley Bill, which as to its schedules and adjustments is the best application of tariff principles to our internal conditions ever attempted in the country.

But President Harrison stood not alone upon the rock of protection as embodied in the schedules of the Act. He saw, as other leading statesmen saw, that the time had come when our surplus products must find and make foreign markets for themselves. He saw they were better and as cheap as the surplus products of other nations. He saw the markets of 40,000,000 people south of us, on our continent, occupied by the nations of Europe, even though we were the best and largest buyers in those very markets. He saw that the free list, as contemplated in the McKinley Bill, would cover nearly everything we bought in those markets—sugar, coffee, hides, molasses, woods and dyes. He saw that in most of those markets our chief exports—flour, the cereals, farm implements, oils, textiles—were heavily dutiable, in some cases to the point of exclusion.

Now why should we not say to those markets, we are about to take the duty off everything we get from you. In consideration of this we ask you to reciprocate, not by taking the duty off what we send you, but by adjusting it so that we can sell to you on favorable terms, so that when we go for a cargo of coffee to your market we can take along a cargo of what we have to sell, and be able to sell it. This

will encourage us to buy more from you, and in the end it will be better for all American markets, for by reason of our proximity we can interchange at less cost for freight, and American genius has proven that it can even now give you better and cheaper manufactured products than you can get elsewhere. This cannot endanger our principle of protection, for we do not or cannot produce most of what we want from you, and you do not or cannot produce most of what you want from us.

All of these things entered into the logic of reciprocity, whether with the markets of America, or with those other markets of the world embracing like conditions. Reciprocity had heretofore been accomplished between nations by long, tedious and uncertain treaties. We could make reciprocity by a short cut, by a clause in a tariff bill, by simply saying here we have done all, or more than all, that could have been done by any reciprocity treaty. We are willing to hear your terms.

President Harrison did not hesitate to make reciprocity a measure of his administration, and in his messages and other speeches he accepts and urges it as part of the grand plan now cherished by all patriotic and far-seeing statesmen; by which we are to enter into full competition with other nations in the world's markets, and once more enjoy the profits and glory of an American marine. In quite a recent speech he spoke of reciprocity as the dawn of an era which shall once again restore the carrying trade of ocean to American bottoms and witness the grand spectacle of the stars and stripes in every port of the world. In this there is a sturdy Americanism, which defies the limitations of partyism, and it is woven into his organization so effectually as that it gives lustre to all his speeches and writings. In a letter to Mr. Cronemyer, of Demmler, Pa., dated October

19, 1891, acknowledging the receipt of a box of American-made tin-plate, he said:—"I cannot quite understand how an American can doubt that we have the mechanical skill and business sagacity to establish successfully here the manufacture of tin plate. . . . It is surprising to me that any patriotic American should approach this question with a desire to see this great and interesting experiment fail, or with an unwillingness to accept the evidences of its success. It will be a great step in the direction of commercial independence, when we produce our own tin-plate. . . .

"I can understand how our success should be doubted and our failure accepted with satisfaction in Wales, but I cannot understand how any American can take that view of the question or why he should always approach every evidence of the successful establishment of this industry in this country with a disposition to discredit it and reject it. If the great experiment is to fail, our own people should not add to the mortification of failure, the crime of rejoicing at it."

THE ADMINISTRATION IN PARAGRAPHIC BRIEFS.

An administration in which duty has been met honestly, courageously, promptly and with ability.

An administration which has filled the letter of the platform of principles.

An administration in which the President has daily grown and strengthened in the public mind, and won the implicit faith of the country.

An administration which typed American honor, in all its foreign relations.

It stands for American industry, the home wage-earner, domestic manufactures, expanded commerce, enlarged markets.

An administration of good judgment, liberality and public

HON. THOMAS B. REED.

Born at Portland, Maine, October 18, 1839; graduated at Bowdoin, 1860; studied law and admitted to bar; Assistant Paymaster in Navy, 1864–65; member of State House of Representatives, 1868–69, and of Senate, 1870; Attorney General of Maine, 1870–72; Solicitor of Portland, 1874–77; elected, as a Republican, to 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th and 52d Congresses; elected and presided as Speaker of House in 51st Congress; an able and efficient parliamentarian; his decision as to actual presence and constructive absence in counting a quorum was sustained by the U. S. Supreme Court; a writer and speaker of originality and force.

spirit, in its efforts to re-create a navy and establish coast-defences commensurate with the power, dignity and necessities of a great nation.

An administration whose President has seen new markets opened for American products in nearly all of the American Republics to the south of us, and in most of the Continental States of Europe. He has seen, for the first time in our history, the exports of our manufactures of iron exceed our imports, and the triumphant establishment of our iron and steel utensils, tools, etc., in the best markets of the globe. He has seen our exports of beef and hog products rise from $7,068,006 in May, 1891, to $10,501,592 in May, 1892, with a kindred increase for the other months of the fiscal year.

He has seen our largest item of export—breadstuffs—take the following bounds:—

Breadstuffs exported May, 1892	$19,410,394
" " " 1891	12,330,231
Increase	7,080,163
Breadstuffs exported 11 Mo. to May 31, 1892	272,476,023
" " 11 Mo. " " " 1891	109,956,984
Increase	$162,519,039

For many years prior to 1888, the balance of foreign trade had been in our favor. But during that year and 1889—the last of the Cleveland administration—it turned largely against us. It was turned to $68,000,000 in our favor in 1890.

Under Harrison's administration the government's finances have been handled at all points with ability and with the greatest satisfaction to the people. Since 1889, $259,093,650 of the national debt have been paid off, or one quarter of the entire interest-bearing debt outstanding when he assumed

the reins of government. This was done by calling in and redeeming bonds which, at the premium upon them, had a value of $296,316,931. Still, the stroke was masterly on the part of the government, for if these bonds had run to maturity they would have cost the government, principal and interest, to redeem, $351,669,424. The saving, therefore, amounted to $55,352,493.

The annual interest charge was reduced by these purchases from $34,578,219 to $22,893,871, or $11,684,348 annually, a sum sufficient to pay one-half of the additional pensions under the Dependent Pension Act. By these purchases, also, a sum equal to $209,366,348 was set free, and added to the volume of the currency. Under the Cleveland administration the amount thus set free and added to the volume of the currency was only $117,456,837. It will be seen, therefore, that the amount added to the circulation of the currency under Harrison's administration, by the above process, was one-fifth of the body of the currency —total, $936,798,644—authorized between July 1, 1860, and March 1, 1889.

The decrease in the amount of revenue collected from the people, under the operation of various reducing Acts passed during Harrison's administration, amounted to from $35,000,000 to $50,000,000, and this reduction embraced largely the articles which are of prime necessity to laboring man. At the same time, the average annual exports of American products, which average was $719,781,096, under Cleveland, ran up to $907,083,731 under Harrison. During three years of Harrison's administration our total foreign commerce reached $5,161,305,023. During the last three years of Cleveland's administration the aggregate was $4,289,702,199. Under Mr. Cleveland the excess of exports, in three years, was $28,984,379; under Harrison

they were, for three years, $281,197,367. Much of all this may be ascribed to natural causes, but natural causes do not operate in favor of a nation unless they are guided, directed and restrained by wise legislation and prudent administration.

No administration ever negotiated so many treaties looking to reciprocal trade relations and commercial expansion.

New extradition treaties were made with England, the Netherlands and Colombia, by which persons guilty of crime, not purely political, especially defaulters, embezzlers, and all that class of gentry, who, in places of trust, treat all the money they are permitted to count as their own, can no longer find safety from our law in those countries.

An administration under which the cost of collecting internal revenues was reduced for the first time in our history below three per cent.

Which enforced rigidly the immigration laws, reducing greatly the number of pauper and alien contract immigrants.

Which for the first time in our history attempted to make men of Indians by enlisting them as soldiers.

Which applied the Railway Postal Service to trans-Atlantic mails, extended the free-delivery system to small towns and broke up lottery advertising through the mails.

Which established a system of pork and beef inspection, which secures the entry of beef and pork products into foreign ports.

Which has strengthened our credit at home and abroad, lightened the burden of debt upon the people, and released millions of dollars which the previous administration had hoarded in the Treasury, and restored them to circulation in the proper channels of trade and commerce.

Remembering the financial situation of 1890, beginning with the Baring failure in London, extending to all Euro-

pean and South American countries, and threatening this country, it was the intelligent, decisive and prompt action of President Harrison's Administration which averted impending disaster. Between July 24th and November 10th, the Treasury disbursed for the redemption of bonds alone nearly one hundred millions of dollars, and by so doing relieved the stringency of the money market and gave confidence and strength to business.

President Harrison's resolute attitude during the life of the Fifty-first Congress in opposition to the efforts of those who were determined to pass a free and unlimited silver coinage act, defeated their purpose and saved the country from suffering from the certain evils which such an act would have entailed. His wisdom has brought about an International Monetary Congress, whose session will serve to simplify if not settle the puzzling question of coin ratios, and the principle of bimetallic money.

The question of Chinese immigration was settled for the next ten years. Four new States were admitted. Oklahoma was opened to settlement, and reservation after reservation added to the public lands.

No other President ever stood so firmly for purity and freedom of the Suffrage. In his efforts to establish national protection for the right to vote, he has proven to be ahead of his party, but millions of patriotic American citizens today realize that the time is not remote when his attitude must find vindication or the great Republican experiment must fail.

Harrison's Administration has shown what a Republican Executive can do to protect American citizenship at home and abroad, to uplift labor and develop industry, to guard the trade of the country and the currency of the people against financial folly, and to win from foreign powers ad-

vantages which no other nation has ever secured. Barriers against American trade which successive administrations of both parties have been unable to remove, under his administration have at last been swept away. The best and most progressive men of the South, the men who believe in justice and law and order, have been brought into close harmony with men of like thought and feeling at the North. The policy of the great Republic has been so impressively recommended to the workingmen and manufacturers, the traders and financiers of other lands, that to-day the walls of Free Trade are shaken in Great Britain as they have not been before for fifty years, and the wishes of this nation bring together a congress of nations to settle the long dispute regarding the monetary standard.

It has been a business administration. Neither war nor conquest has fired the popular heart to overlook its shortcomings in any respect. It is because the nation wants and honors fidelity and wisdom in the every-day duties of peace that the President has been so favorably spoken of as his own worthy successor. At once an embodiment and a champion of Republican ideas, Benjamin Harrison will undoubtedly be asked to serve again because he has served well, and the people will trust him again because he has been found worthy of trust.

IX.

MINNEAPOLIS AND RENOMINATION.

CONVENTION OF 1892 AND PLATFORM.

THE Republican National Committee met in Washington, pursuant to call, on November 23, 1891. A chief object was the selection of the place at which the National Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President for 1892 should meet. Various cities, East and West, sought the honor of the convention's sessions, but the choice fell to Minneapolis, after full discussion of the claims of all.

The place being designated, the time was fixed for Tuesday, June 7, 1892, and the usual call was issued for States and Territories to send delegates—each State, four delegates-at-large, and two from each Congressional district, each Territory and the District of Columbia, all to be chosen thirty days prior to the date of the convention.

This was the tenth call made by the Republican National Committee for a convention.

At the date of the above call in November, 1891, the Republican political situation was clear. The thought was well nigh unanimous that President Harrison had, by a wise administration, earned the honor of a second candidacy. It was felt by the business and laboring interests that the record of the past three years should remain unbroken, and that the Republican party could best confront its enemies with the men and measures that had constituted and rendered illustrious that record.

But after the turn of the year 1892 it was made apparent that there were elements in the Republican party which were hostile to the administration. These elements had previously made their mutterings known, but not in such a way as to lead to the suspicion that an open declaration of war was intended. The first overt opposition appeared in the local conventions of Pennsylvania, called at an unusually early period and with the evident intention of taking a snap judgment on the situation. They reflected the sentiment of those whose reason for hostility was inability to control as much patronage as they thought they deserved.

At first no serious attention was paid to this peculiar, unnecessary and impolitic movement. But when it was taken up in other sections, as New York, Ohio, Iowa and the silver States, and when it threatened to become formidable if left to run riot, there came a time for consideration on the part of Mr. Harrison's friends and the real friends of the Republican party.

Among these friends, President Harrison counted on none as more intimate and safe than Mr. Blaine. He was his premier, his bosom friend of State, the custodian of his official secrets, the spokesman of his policy. None felt keener than Mr. Blaine the embarrassment likely to follow the freedom with which his name was used for the purpose of shaping opposition to the administration. Poison was added to the shaft by the fact that none of his now avowed admirers had been his friends in former years, but, on the contrary, had been his most bitter enemies. An additional source of chagrin and danger lay in the fact that the leaders of the opposition had failed of that importance in their own States which was necessary to save their party from disaster.

Out of the situation, clear to even the unitiniated, grew a motive, all compelling on the part of Mr. Blaine, if his

relationship to the administration was to be maintained. He undoubtedly weighed it well. His decision was that he could not be a candidate. He embodied this decision in the following letter to Chairman Clarkson:—

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6, 1892.

HON. J. S. CLARKSON,
Chairman Republican National Committee.

MY DEAR SIR:—

I am not a candidate for the Presidency, and my name will not go before the Republican National Convention for the nomination. I make this statement in due season. To those who have tendered me their support, I owe sincere thanks, and am most grateful for their confidence. They will, I am sure, make earnest efforts in the approaching contest, which is rendered especially important by reason of the industrial and financial policies of the government being at stake. The popular decision on these measures is of great moment and will be of far-reaching consequence.

Very sincerely yours,
JAMES G. BLAINE.

This letter was regarded as magnanimous by every one, without regard to politics, for it was written in face of the fact that a sentiment was crystalizing about the writer's name which might have made him an easy victor at Minneapolis. It was further regarded by friend and foe as exceedingly timely, for the reason that it would prove a bar to all further improper use of his name and would leave party sentiment free to flow in available channels. But most of all, it was accepted as a sincere and truthful letter, expressive in good English of precisely what was meant, and as coming from a source where duplicity of ideas, insincerity of motive and misleading expression were impossible.

It so greatly clarified the situation as that Republicans everywhere fell voluntarily to the thought that Harrison was

HON. MATTHEW S. QUAY.

Born at Dillsburg, York co., Pa., September 30, 1833; graduated at Jefferson College, 1850; admitted to bar, 1854; elected Prothonotary of Beaver co., 1856 and 1859; served in Union army as Colonel of 134th Pennsylvania Volunteers, and as Military State Agent at Washington, Assistant Commissary-General and Chief of Transportation; Military Secretary to Governor of Pennsylvania, 1861–65; member of Legislature, 1865–67; Secretary of Commonwealth, 1872–78; Chairman of Republican State Committee, 1878–79; Secretary of Commonwealth, 1879–82; elected State Treasurer, 1885; elected United States Senator, as Republican, 1886; Chairman of Republican National Committee during campaign of 1888; Chairman of Committee on Library and member of Committees on Commerce and Public Buildings and Grounds.

the logical and inevitable candidate of the party. In every State Convention, save one small Western State, his administration met with unequivocal approval by resolution. In many instances delegates were instructed directly to vote for him. In others, they were, according to custom, left uninstructed, but the understanding was accepted that they should be for Harrison. It was of this last situation that his opponents took advantage.

Harrison had never asked favor, never announced himself as a candidate. The support he was getting from the States came voluntarily. The man was there, let the public judge and treat him as it please. The administration was there, let the verdict respecting it be that which the masses of his party chose to register. He asked for nothing, yet would not decline indorsement. If worthy of vindication, upon his record, let such vindication come spontaneously. In any other shape, it would not be vindication. Never was solemn, subdued drift, more direct than toward him. It was a long, irresistible ground wave, which refused to be diverted by the arts of political engineers, the devices of ambitious schemers, the intervention of disappointed and malicious adventurers.

There were several causes leading directly up to the nomination of Mr. Harrison, and one of them was undoubted, his dignified, manly bearing with regard to it. He did not proclaim his own desire to be nominated. He submitted himself, with reserve befitting his great office, to the desire of the people, and waited for them to "signify their wishes."

Then came a time, when, if opposition was to amount to anything, it must be made to cohere. Conjuration seemed out of the question, except with the magnetic name of Blaine. That name was used, despite his unequivocal letter. Men gathered to his standard, as though they believed the

politicians who were using that name were sincere in the use of it. Many were so infatuated by their admiration for the name as that they refused to see that their use of it was to fasten a lie and a wrong on their favorite.

Thus matters shaped till the eve of the National Convention. The Harrison opponents made free use of Mr. Blaine's name, and its potency for their purposes was handicapped only by the two facts that he had written his letter of February 6, and that he still remained in the Cabinet.

On June 4, 1892, an event transpired which was interpreted by the country to mean that Mr. Blaine was no longer averse to the use of his name as a candidate. On that date, he wrote the following letter of resignation to President Harrison:—

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, June* 4, 1892.
TO THE PRESIDENT:—

I respectfully beg leave to submit my resignation of the office of Secretary of State of the United States, to which I was appointed by you on March 5, 1889.

The condition of public affairs in the Department of State justifies me in requesting that my resignation may be accepted immediately. I have the honor to be

Your very obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

To this Mr. Harrison sent promptly the following reply:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *Washington, June* 4, 1892.
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE:—

Your letter of this date tendering your resignation of the office of Secretary of State of the United States has been received. The terms on which you state your desires are

such as to leave me no choice but to accede to your wishes at once.

Your resignation is therefore accepted.

Very respectfully yours,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Hon. James G. Blaine.

This dramatic event was quickly turned to their account by the Harrison opponents, many of whom were already in Minneapolis, or on their way there. They did not hesitate to construe it as a break between Harrison and Blaine, and as notice that they were at perfect liberty to place the name of the latter before the Convention and to count on his antagonism to the President.

This was the condition of affairs when the Republican National Convention opened at Minneapolis on June 7, 1892. It became apparent on the first day's session that the Harrison opponents would use all the arts and machinery within their control to carry their object. Assuming the aggressive, and having a majority on the National Committee, they organized the Committee on Credentials, and other Committees in their favor, and selected one of their own number as Temporary Chairman of the Convention.

There were in the Convention 906 votes, requiring 454 to nominate, if all were cast. On the second day of the Convention, the friends of President Harrison found they could cohere and hold their forces, even if they could not exactly number them. In this they had the advantage of a single name and object, namely, Harrison and his nomination. They were greatly aided too, by the fact that Harrison delegates embodied steadfast convictions as to the character and availability of their man, and, there-

fore, were not of a class that could be cajoled by specious arguments or carried away by shouts and vain show.

On the other hand, the leaders of the opposition were not succeeding as they had expected. They must prevent the nomination of Harrison on the first ballot. In order to do this they dare not let go the name of Blaine. Yet that name was not proving as magical as they had anticipated. This gave rise to the suggestion of a dark horse, which was in itself a confession of weakness, though it was thought to be in accord with the original designs of those who had been using Blaine's name from the very first. Moreover, the transit from Blaine to a dark horse would be fraught with great danger, for there were many sincere friends of Mr. Blaine in the Convention, who would not have deserted him for a third man, but who would have preferred to transfer their strength to Harrison.

On the third day of the Convention, the situation was greatly simplified by a gathering of the delegates who favored Harrison. They numbered more than half the Convention. They, therefore, resolved to take the initiative, force the fighting and overcome the tactics of the opposition, which were now tactics of delay. The report of the Committee on Credentials gave them their opportunity. They moved the adoption of a minority report instead of the majority one, in the case of the Alabama contests, and easily carried it. The Convention was theirs from this time on.

The fourth day of the Convention, June 10, brought the nominations and balloting. It was a day of superb confidence on the part of the Harrison delegates and leaders. It was a day of extreme anxiety and unrest on the part of the Blaine forces, who had two battles on hand, one to make everything rally to the standard of the "plumed knight" in

HON. LEVI P. MORTON.

Born at Shoreham, Vt., May 16, 1824; educated in common schools; entered mercantile business at Concord, N. H.; at twenty-five, member of firm of Morton & Co., Boston; member of firm of Morton & Grinnell, New York, 1854; a banker in 1863; Morton, Bliss & Co., in 1868; elected to Congress in Twelth New York District in 1878; an authority in matters of finance; declined Vice-Presidential nomination, 1880; furnished fourth of cargo to Irish sufferers; declined Secretaryship of Navy under Garfield; Minister to France under Garfield; urged for U. S. Senator, 1885; elected Vice-President, 1888; noted for financial knowledge, charitable disposition, and nobility of character.

order to prevent Harrison's nomination on the first ballot, the other to make a fresh deployment of their forces, under fire, and shift them bodily to a new man. They could not do the former without formally presenting his name to the Convention, yet to do this was to bring him face to face with the contents of his own letter declining to be a candidate. Neither could they do the latter without more time for manipulation than the majority were now willing to extend, for already such time had been freely extended, and the legitimate excuse for further delay did not exist.

So the roll call for nominations began. Senator Wolcott nominated Mr. Blaine in an able speech, which was ably seconded. The Convention burst into applause which was continued for many minutes, to be renewed again and again. The demonstrations did not result in the expected stampede. It did not even disguise the preparations for a change of front on the part of Mr. Blaine's friends, which change as will be seen by the vote was to McKinley, with a view to keeping the Harrison votes in Ohio from going to where they properly belonged, on the first ballot. The McKinley movement had the same effect in one or two other States.

When Indiana was reached, the venerable Richard W. Thompson placed the name of Benjamin Harrison in nomination with a few appropriate remarks. This drew forth equally long and loud applause, which was to be repeated even more vociferously when the orator of the day and the convention, Chauncey M. Depew, came to second the nomination. The address of Mr. Depew was a masterpiece of eloquence. He felt that he had a great occasion, an inspiring subject, an exceptional opportunity, and he rose to them all with an earnestness and force that carried the Convention quite away and left no doubts of the results of the first ballot. As an analysis of the political situation, as a

brief of Republican history, as a record of the administrative achievements of President Harrison, as an argument for again honoring him with nomination, this speech stands without exception for brilliancy, beauty and force, and it ought to become a classic in every Republican household.

DEPEW'S ELOQUENT ORATION.

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: It is the peculiarity of Republican National Conventions that each one of them has a distinct and interesting history. We are here to meet conditions and solve problems which make this gathering not only no exception to the rule but substantially a new departure. That there should be strong convictions and earnest expressions as to preferences and policies is characteristic of the right of individual judgment, which is the fundamental principle of Republicanism. There have been occasions when the result was so sure that the delegates could freely indulge in the charming privilege of favoritism and of friendship. But the situation which now confronts us demands the exercise of dispassionate judgment and our best thought and experience.

"We cannot venture on uncertain ground or encounter obstacles placed in the pathway of success by ourselves. The Democratic party is now divided, but the hope of the possession of power once more will make it in the final battle more aggressive, determined, and unscrupulous than ever. It starts with fifteen States secure without an effort, by processes which are a travesty upon popular Government, and if continued long enough will paralyze institutions founded upon popular suffrage. It has to win four more States in a fair fight. States which in the vocabulary of politics are denominated 'doubtful.'

"The Republican party must appeal to the conscience and the judgment of the individual voter in every State in the Union. This is in accordance with the principles upon which it was founded and the objects for which it contends. It has accepted this issue before and fought it out with an extraordinary continuance of success. The conditions of

Republican victory from 1860 to 1880 were created by Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. They were that the saved Republic should be run by its saviours; they were the emancipation of the slaves, the reconstruction of the States, the reception of those who had fought to destroy the Republic back into the fold, without penalties or punishments, and to an equal share with those who had fought and saved the nation, in the solemn obligations and inestimable privilege of American citizenship. They were the embodiment into the Constitution of the principles for which 2,000,000 of men had fought and 500,000 had died. They were the restoration of public credit, the resumption of specie payments, and the prosperous condition of solvent business.

"For twenty-five years there were names with which to conjure and events fresh in the public mind which were eloquent with popular enthusiasm. It needed little else than a recital of the glorious story of its heroes, and a statement of the achievements of the Republican party to retain the confidence of the people. But from the desire for change, which is characteristic of free governments, there came a reversal, there came a check to the progress of the Republican party and four years of Democratic administration. These four years largely relegated to the realms of history past issues, and brought us face to face with what the Democracy, its professions, and its practices mean to-day.

"The great names which adorned the roll of Republican statesmen and soldiers are still potent and popular. The great measures of the Republican party are still the best of the history of the century. The unequaled and unexampled story of Republicanism in its promises and its achievements stands unique in the record of parties in governments which are free.

"But we live in practical times, facing practical issues, which affect the business, the wages, the labor, and the prosperity of to-day. The campaign will be won or lost, not upon the bad record of James K. Polk, or of Franklin Pierce, or of James Buchanan—not upon the good record of Lincoln, or of Grant, or of Arthur, or of Hayes, or of Garfield.

It will be won or lost upon the policy, foreign and domestic, the industrial measures and the administrative acts of the administration of Benjamin Harrison. Whoever receives the nomination of this convention will run upon the judgment of the people as to whether they have been more prosperous and happy, whether the country has been in a better condition at home, and stood more honorably abroad under these last four years of Harrison and Republican administration, than during the preceding four years of Cleveland and Democratic government.

"Not since Thomas Jefferson has any administration been called upon to face and solve so many or such difficult problems as those which have been exigent in our condition. No administration since the organization of the Government has met difficulties better or more to the satisfaction of the American people.

"Chili has been taught that no matter how small the antagonist, no community can with safety insult the flag or murder American sailors.

"Germany and England have learned in Samoa that the United States has become one of the powers of the world, and no matter how mighty the adversary at every sacrifice American honor will be maintained. The Bering Sea question, which was the insurmountable obstacle in the diplomacy of Cleveland and Bayard, has been settled upon a basis which sustains the American position until arbitration shall have determined our right.

"The dollar of the country has been placed and kept in the standard of commercial nations, and a coin has been agreed upon with foreign governments which, by making bi-metallism the policy of all nations, may successfully solve all our financial problems.

"The tariff tinkered with, and trifled with, to the serious disturbance of trade and disaster to business since the days of Washington has been courageously embodied into a code —a code which has preserved the principle of the protection of American industries. To it has been added a beneficent policy, supplemented by beneficent treaties, and wise diplomacy, which has opened to our farmers and manufacturers

HON. JOSEPH B. FORAKER.

Born near Rainsborough, Ohio, July 5, 1846; enlisted from farm in 89th Ohio Regiment; served in army of Cumberland till close of war; Sergeant in 1862; First Lieutenant in 1864; Captain in 1865; Aide to General Slocum; after war entered Wesleyan University; graduated at Cornell, 1869; studied law and admitted to bar; Judge of Cincinnati Superior Court, 1879–82; nominated as Republican candidate for Governor in 1883, and defeated; re-nominated in 1885 and elected; re-elected, but defeated by Gov. Campbell in 1889; noted for fiery eloquence and devotion to cause of soldiers.

the markets of other countries. The navy has been builded upon lines which will protect American citizens and American interests and the American flag all over the world. The public debt has been reduced. Maturing bonds have been paid off. The public credit has been maintained. The burdens of taxation have been lightened. Two hundred millions of currency have been added to the people's money without disturbance of the exchanges.

"Unexampled prosperity has crowned wise laws and their wise administration. The main question which divides us is to whom does the credit of all this belong? Orators may stand upon this platform more able and more eloquent than I, who will paint in more brilliant colors, but they cannot put in more earnest thought, the affection and admiration of Republicans for our distinguished Secretary of State. I yield to no Republican, no matter from which State he hails, in admiration and respect for John Sherman, for Governor McKinley, for Thomas B. Reed, for Iowa's great son, for the favorites of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. But when I am told that the credit for the brilliant diplomacy of this administration belongs exclusively to the Secretary of State, for the administration of its finances to the Secretary of the Treasury, for the construction of its ships to the Secretary of the Navy, for the introduction of American pork in Europe to the Secretary of Agriculture, for the settlement, so far as it is settled, of the currency question to Senator John Sherman, for the formulation of the tariff law to Governor McKinley, for the removal of the restrictions placed by foreign nations upon the introduction of American pork to our ministers at Paris and Berlin, I am tempted to seriously inquire who during the last four years has been President of the United States, anyhow?

"Cæsar, when he wrote those commentaries, which were the history of the conquests of Europe under his leadership, modestly took the position of Æneas when he said: 'They are the narrative of events, the whole of which I saw and the part of which I was.'

"General Thomas, as the rock of Chickamauga, occupies a place in our history with Leonidas among the Greeks,

except that he succeeded where Leonidas failed. The fight of Joe Hooker above the clouds was the poetry of battle. The resistless rush of Sheridan and his steed down the valley of Shenandoah is the epic of our civil war. The march of Sherman from Atlanta to the sea is the supreme triumph of gallantry and strategy. It detracts nothing from the splendor of the fame, or the merits of the deeds of his lieutenants to say that, having selected them with marvelous sagacity and discretion, Grant still remained the supreme commander of the national army.

"All the proposed Acts of any administration, before they are formulated, are passed upon in Cabinet council, and the measures and suggestions of the ablest Secretaries would have failed with a lesser President. But for the great good of the country, and the benefit of the Republican party, they have succeeded, because of the suggestive mind, the indomitable courage, the intelligent appreciation of situations, and the grand magnanimity of Benjamin Harrison.

"It is an undisputed fact that during the few months when both the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury were ill, the President personally assumed the duties of the State and the Treasury Departments and both with equal success. The Secretary of State, in accepting his portfolio under President Garfield, wrote: 'Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all diverting its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.'

"Garfield fell before the bullet of the assassin and Mr. Blaine retired to private life. General Harrison invited him to take up that unfinished diplomatic career, where its threads had been so tragically broken. He entered the Cabinet. He resumed his work and has won a higher place in our history. The prophecy he made for Garfield has been superbly fulfilled by President Harrison. In the language of Mr. Blaine, 'The President has compelled a re-election by the logic of events and the imperious necessities of the situation.'

"The man who is nominated here to-day, to win, must

carry a certain well-known number of the doubtful States. Patrick Henry, in the convention which started rolling the ball of the independence of the colonies from Great Britain, said: 'I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past.'

"New York was carried in 1880 by General Garfield and in every important election since that time we have done our best. We have put forward our ablest, our most popular, our most brilliant leaders for Governor and State officers, to suffer constant defeat. The only light which illumines the sun of hope, the dark record of those twelve years, is the fact that in 1888, the State of New York was triumphantly carried by President Harrison. He carried it then as a gallant soldier, a wise Senator, a statesman who inspired confidence by his public utterances in daily speeches from the commencement of the canvass to its close. He still has all these claims, and in addition an administration beyond criticism and rich with the elements of popularity with which to carry New York again.

"An ancestry helps in the old world and handicaps in the new. There is but one distinguished example of a son overcoming the limitations imposed by the pre-eminent fame of his father and then rising above it, and that was when the younger Pitt became greater than Chatham.

"With an ancestor a signer of the Declaration of Independence and another who saved the Northwest from savagery and gave it to civilization and empire, and who was also President of the United States, a poor and unknown lawyer of Indiana has risen by his unaided efforts to such distinction as lawyer, orator, soldier, statesman and President that he reflects more credit upon his ancestors than they have devolved upon him and presents in American history the parallel of the younger Pitt.

"By the grand record of a wise and popular administration, by the strength gained in frequent contact with the people, in wonderfully versatile and felicitous speech, by the claims of a pure life in public and in the simplicity of a typical American home, I nominate Benjamin Harrison."

When Wisconsin was called, the name of ex-Senator Spooner was lustily cheered and a speech demanded. His address was hardly less forcible than that of Mr. Depew's.

FIRST AND WINNING BALLOT.

The balloting began amid subdued excitement. From the very first it was manifest that nothing had occurred to shake the resolution of the Harrison delegates, and that the arts of the opposition had so far exhausted themselves as to prove of little further danger. The designed swing from Blaine to McKinley cropped out early in the balloting, but it carried little from the Harrison column until Ohio was reached. All such losses were very nearly met by a corresponding swing from Blaine to Harrison, among those who refused to enter the dark horse camp. The ballot was taken on the afternoon of June 10, and resulted in the following figures:

Whole number of votes cast	904⅓
Necessary to a choice	453
Benjamin Harrison received	535⅙
James G. Blaine	182⅙
William McKinley	182
Robert T. Lincoln	1
Thomas B. Reed	4

The following is the official vote by States:

States.	Harrison.	Blaine.	McKinley.
Alabama	15	..	7
Arkansas	15	..	1
California	8	9	1
Colorado	..	8	..
Connecticut	4	..	8
Delaware	4	1	1
Florida	8	..	..
Georgia	26	..	..
Illinois	34	14	..
Idaho	..	6	..
Indiana	30	..	..
Iowa	20	5	1

FIRST BALLOT—*Continued.*

States.	Harrison.	Blaine.	McKinley.
Kansas	11	..	9
Kentucky	22	2	1
Louisiana	8	8	..
Maine	..	12	..
Maryland	14	..	2
Massachusetts	18	1	11
Michigan	7	2	19
Minnesota	8	9	1
Missouri	28	4	2
Mississippi	13½	4½	..
Montana	5	1	..
Nebraska	15	..	1
Nevada	..	6	..
New Hampshire	4	2	..
New Jersey	18	2	..
New York	27	35	10
North Carolina	17⅔	2⅔	1
North Dakota	2	4	..
Ohio	1	..	45
Oregon	1	..	7
Pennsylvania	19	3	42
Rhode Island	5	1	1
South Carolina	13	3	2
South Dakota	8	..	..
Tennessee	17	4	3
Texas	22	6	..
Vermont	8	..	..
Virginia	9	13	2
Washington	1	6	1
West Virginia	12	..	..
Wisconsin	19	2	3
Wyoming	4	2	..
Arizona	1	1	..
District of Columbia	..	2	..
New Mexico	6	..	..
Oklahoma	2	..	..
Utah	2	..	..
Alaska	2	..	..
Indian Territory	1	1	..
Totals	535⅙	182⅙	182

Ex-Speaker Reed received 4 votes, 1 from New Hampshire, 1 from Rhode Island, and 2 from Texas, and Robert T. Lincoln 1 from New Hampshire. There were 2⅓ votes absent.

The Chairman—President Harrison, having received a majority of the votes cast, has received the nomination of

this Convention. Shall it be unanimous? [Loud cries of "Yes."] The nomination is made unanimous.

During the evening session Hon. Whitelaw Reid, late Minister to France, and editor of the New York *Tribune*, was nominated as the candidate for the Vice-Presidency. This was a concession to the New York delegation, and his nomination took place on the announcement of his name.

PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES, 1892.

AS ADOPTED AT REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi river, the everlasting bond of an indestructible Republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

PROTECTION AND RECIPROCITY.—We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of

general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead, and lead ores, the chief product of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops.

We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that executed by a Republican administration our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

THE SILVER PLANK.—The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by the legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference, to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

A FREE BALLOT.—We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and un-

restricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution.

The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.—We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.—We favor the extension of our foreign commerce; the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign Powers, entangling alliance with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

CHURCH AND STATE.—We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employés of transportation companies engaged in carrying on inter-State commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employeés engaged in State com-

HON. JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.

Born in Richmond co., N. C., October 31st, 1826; educated at Hamilton College, N. Y.; admitted to bar in Hartford, Conn., 1850; editor of Hartford *Evening Press* and *Courant* from 1857 to present; enlisted in army April 15, 1861; mustered out as Brevet Major-General January 15, 1866; elected Governor of State, as a Republican, April, 1866; Delegate to Republican National Conventions, 1872–76–80; President of Centennial Exhibition; elected to 42d Congress, November, 1872; re-elected to 43d and 46th Congresses; elected to U. S. Senate, as a Republican, March 4, 1881; re-elected in 1887; Chairman of Committee on Military Affairs, and member of Committees on Coast Defences, Printing and Railroads.

merce, in mining and manufacturing. The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free proper government is the intelligence of the people, and the maintenance of freedom among its men. We therefore declare a new devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of Church and State.

TRUSTS.—We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily endorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

LETTER POSTAGE.—We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post-office Department and the highest class of postal service.

CIVIL SERVICE.—We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service and the wise and con-

sistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

NICARAGUA CANAL.—The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people as a measure of national defence and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States government.

TERRITORIES.—We favor the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest practical date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the territories and of the United States. All the federal officers appointed for the territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We favor cession, subject to homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

THE WORLD'S FAIR.—The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharging of the expense and obligation incident thereto and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

INTEMPERANCE.—We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

PENSIONS.—Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

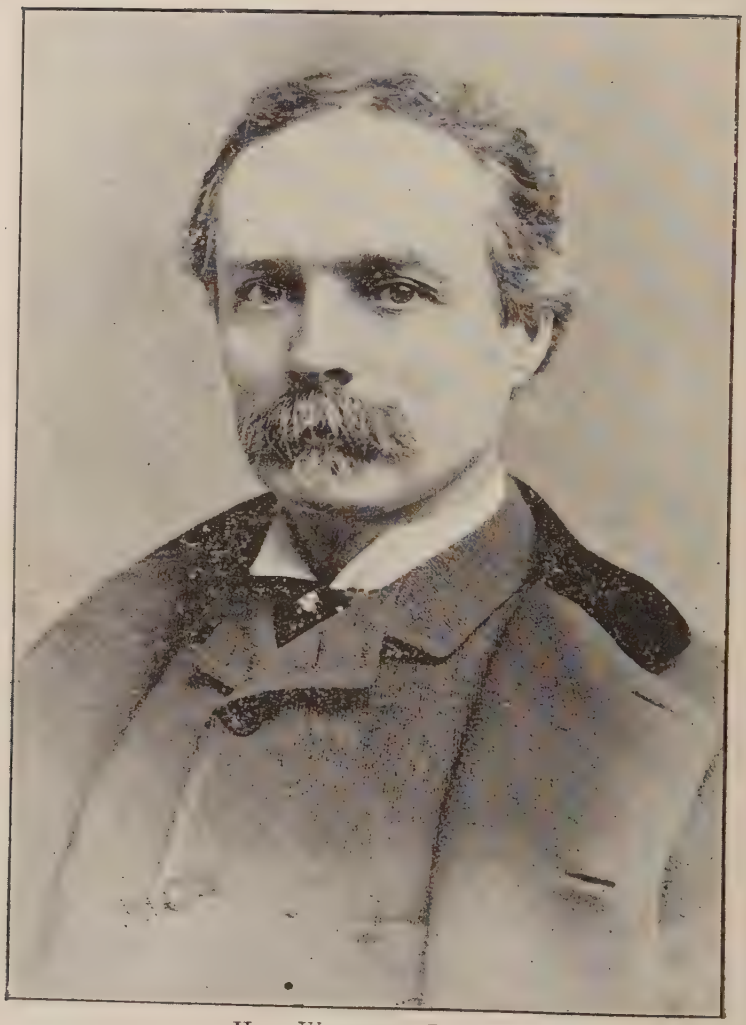
HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.—We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation at home and abroad have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

SPREADING THE NEWS.

As news of the renomination of President Harrison was flashed over the country, it drew most favorable comment from friend and foe. The business and laboring elements of the nation were especially pleased with the choice of the Convention. Even those who had opposed him in Convention acquiesced heartily in the result and pledged their efforts to secure his election. Perhaps President Harrison himself was the calmest of all the recipients of the news, among the Republican leaders. Perfectly dignified and self-contained, he stood in a room of the White House amid a crowd of distinguished friends, and received their congratulations. A large body of the newspaper men of the Capital came in to congratulate and to get an expression of his views. He, after persuasion, addressed them in one of his felicitous speeches, which showed the trend of his thoughts and emotions at a time so important as the date of a nomination and the beginning of a national campaign. He expressed himself as entirely free from feeling against any one, and as wishing a campaign without bitterness or other than dignified discussion of the questions to be decided.

On June 20, a committee composed of one from each State, appointed by the Minneapolis Convention, and whose chairman was Governor McKinley, officially notified President Harrison, at the White House, of his nomination.

Governor McKinley's speech on this occasion was a happy one, and the reply of the President evoked the applause of all present, for apt thought and felicitous expression. The President promised a more formal and written acceptance, in a short time.



Hon. Whitelaw Reid.

LIFE AND SERVICES

OF

Hon. Whitelaw Reid,

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

WHITELAW REID, the Republican Candidate for Vice-President, was born in Xenia, Ohio, October 27, 1837. His paternal grandfather came to this country from Scotland, toward the close of the last century, and pushed his way to Kentucky, there to become an active pioneer in the forests which embraced the "Dark and Bloody Ground."

In the year 1800 he crossed to the north of the Ohio, and took up ground on the present site of Cincinnati. But a part of the contract was that he should run the ferry across the Ohio. This was a stipulation easily kept for six days in the week, but on the seventh it proved to be a galling contract, he being a stern old Covenanter, with a conscience above Sabbath-day labor and earnings.

His contract was therefore cancelled, and he moved to Greene county, where he became a primitive settler in the township of Xenia. Here his son, Robert Carleton Reid, grew to man's estate, and married Mary Whitelaw Ronalds, a descendant, in direct line, of the Clan Ronald, of the Scottish Highlands.

These two were the parents of Whitelaw Reid, our sub-

ject. An uncle, Hugh McMillan, D. D., a Scotch Covenanter and conscientious man, took the task upon himself of fitting Whitelaw for college. Dr. McMillan was a trustee of Miami University and principal of the old and long-noted Xenia Academy, which was then reckoned by the officers of Miami the best preparatory school in the State. As a teacher of classics and general instructor Dr. McMillan had a fine reputation. Under his instruction his nephew was so well drilled in Latin that at the age of fifteen years he entered Miami as a sophomore, with a Latinist rank equal to that of scholars in the upper classes. This was in 1853, and in 1856 he was graduated with the scientific honors, the classical honors having by his own request been yielded to a classmate.

Just after graduation, he was made principal of the graded schools in South Charleston, Ohio, his immediate pupils being generally older than himself. Here he taught French, Latin, and the higher mathematics. During this period he repaid his father the expense of his senior year in college, and returning home at the age of twenty, he bought the *Xenia News*, and for two years led the life of a country editor.

Directly after leaving college Mr. Reid identified himself with the then new Republican party, and took the stump for John C. Fremont. He was a constant reader of the *New York Tribune*, and his own paper, the *News*, edited with vigor and such success as to double its circulation during his control of its columns, was conducted by him, as much as possible, after the model of that great humanitarian journalist he was destined to succeed. He didn't believe in State rights, nor in chattel slavery, and said so with a vigor and variety that made his utterances quoted from the start. He met many public men and never lost a chance to talk

with them on the issues of the day. He formed acquaintances and made friends.

In 1860, notwithstanding his personal admiration of Mr. Chase, he advocated the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, *The News* being the first Western newspaper outside of Illinois to do so; and its influence caused the election of a Lincoln delegate to the Republican Convention from the Xenia district, thus strengthening the break in the Ohio column which Governor Chase at the time so bitterly resented. After Mr. Lincoln's famous speech at the Cooper Institute, in New York city, and on his return to the West, Mr. Reid went to Columbus to meet him, formed one of his escort to Xenia, and introduced him at the railroad station to the citizens. Subsequently he entered ardently into the business of the campaign, making speeches and acting as secretary of the Greene County Republican Committee.

His exertions during the campaign of 1860 proved to be too much for his health, and he was compelled to withdraw from the political arena and take a vacation. He travelled through the Northwest, visiting the extreme head-waters of the Mississippi and St. Louis Rivers, and returning by way of Duluth.

This trip meant not only health but an opportunity for the exercise of his genius. He proved to be a close and accurate observer of nature and of social and political conditions, and a descriptive writer of great beauty and force. His letters to the Cincinnati *Gazette* were received with great favor by a large circle of readers, and they established for him a reputation which made him a desirable acquisition on the leading papers of the West.

The winter of 1860–61 he spent in Columbus, Ohio, as legislative correspondent of the Cincinnati *Times*. His engagement on the *Times* was followed by one on the

Cleveland *Herald* and also on the Cincinnati *Gazette*, each at advanced figures. Mr. Reid entered heroically upon all three engagements, and came, thereby, into receipt of a handsome income for a journalist of the times. But the task of writing daily three letters, distinct in tone, upon the same dreary legislative themes was a species of drudgery which severely tried even his versatility and courage. Such discipline, however, rendered his later journalistic labors comparatively light and attractive.

At the close of that session of the Ohio Legislature *The Gazette* offered him the post of city editor, and this position, so full of varied training, he accepted until, at the beginning of the civil war, McClellan, then a captain in the regular army and stationed at Cincinnati, was sent to West Virginia. With this movement, Mr. Reid, by order of *The Gazette* Company, took the position of its war correspondent. General Morris had command of the advance, and Mr. Reid, as representative of the then foremost journal in Ohio, was assigned to duty as volunteer aide-de-camp, with the rank of captain. Then over the signature of "Agate" began a series of letters which attracted general attention and largely increased the demand for *The Gazette*. After the West Virginia campaign terminated in the victory over Garnet's army and the death of General Garnet himself at Carrick's Ford, on Cheat River, Mr. Reid returned to *The Gazette* office, and for a time wrote editorial leaders. He was sent back to West Virginia, and given a position on the staff of General Rosecrans. He served through the second campaign that terminated with the battles of Carnifex Ferry and Gauley Bridge. These battles he wrote an account of, and then returning to *The Gazette* office resumed his editorial duties and helped organize the staff of correspondents the publishers of that

journal had found it necessary to employ. Fairly established as a journalist of much promise, only brief mention can be made of the brilliant service which marked his subsequent career in the West. In 1861–62 he went west to follow, as correspondent, the fortunes of the brilliant campaign of Grant which began with Fort Donelson and ended with Shiloh. During this campaign his letters were detailed and graphic, and he easily led the corps of war correspondents as respects freshness, accuracy and lucidity.

He was at Pittsburgh Landing with the advance of the army, and ahead of all companions of the press, and left a sick-bed to witness and describe the terrible battle of Shiloh. His graphic account of this conflict was almost the only one which reached the newspapers of the North, and the ten columns which found their way into *The Gazette* in a single day, profuse in detail, burning in descriptive vigor, alive to all the horrors of the situation, stamped him as a correspondent endowed with magnificent powers of observation, untiring zeal and marvellous versatility. Those ten columns of *The Gazette* were widely copied and published in extras by St. Louis and Chicago papers, and their writer was complimented by an advance in his already liberal salary.

At the siege of Corinth Mr. Reid was appointed chairman of a committee of the correspondents to interview General Halleck upon the occasion of the latter's difficulty with "the gentlemen of the press," which ended in their dignified withdrawal from the military lines.

Mr. Reid went to Washington in the spring of 1862, where he was offered the management of a leading St. Louis newspaper. On hearing of this offer the proprietors of *The Gazette* offered to sell him a handsome interest in their establishment at a fair price. This he accepted, and his share of the profits for the first year amounted to two-thirds of the cost and laid

the foundation of his fortune. As the correspondent of *The Gazette* at the National Capital he soon distinguished himself and attracted by his literary and executive ability the notice of Horace Greeley, who from that time became his highly appreciative and unswerving friend. Reid was an industrious worker, and while a political writer of vigor, never lost his knack as a reporter. He went up to Gettysburg when that fight was on and gave a fine description of that battle.

A visit to the South in 1865, as the companion of Chief-Justice Chase on the trip made by the latter at the request of President Johnson, resulted in the production of Mr. Reid's first contribution to literature in the form of a book entitled "After the War: a Southern Tour." This book is a fair reflex of its author's independent and healthful mind and practical experience of men and things, and an excellent record of the affairs of the South during the years immediately following the war. During this tour the business of cotton-planting appeared so remunerative that in partnership with General Francis J. Herron Mr. Reid engaged in it in the spring of 1866; but when the crop looked most promising the army worm destroyed three-fourths of it. Even what remained, however, prevented the loss of their investment and induced Mr. Reid to try his fortune subsequently in the same business in Alabama; but after two years, though not a loser, his gain was principally in business experience. During these years, however, he was otherwise engaged than in growing cotton. His "Ohio in the War," two large volumes of more than a thousand pages each, was produced during the years when cotton-planting was his ostensible business. This work is a monument of industry and a model for every other State work of the kind. After the publica-

tion of this work Mr. Reid in 1868 resumed the duties of a leader-writer on *The Gazette*.

On the impeachment of President Johnson he went to Washington and reported carefully that transaction. That summer Mr. Greeley renewed an invitation, two or three times made before, to Mr. Reid, to connect himself with the political staff of *The Tribune*. Mr. Reid finally accepted, and took the post of leading editorial writer, with a salary next in amount to that of Mr. Greeley and responsible directly to him. He wrote many of the leaders thoughout the campaign that ended in the first election of Grant. Shortly afterward a difficulty between the managing editor and the publishers resulted in the withdrawal of the former, and Mr. Reid was installed in the managing editor's chair. In this advancement he retained the affection and unbounded confidence of his venerated chief, who since the withdrawal of Mr. Dana to make his venture in Chicago and then to get *The Sun*, had not failed to observe the uncertainties and dangers attending this most arduous of journalistic positions. By a bold expenditure in 1870 Mr. Reid surpassed all rivals at home and abroad in reports of the Franco-Prussian war, and from that time, with full power to do so, gradually reorganized and strengthened the staff of *The Tribune*.

After the nomination of Mr. Greeley for President in 1872 Mr. Reid was made editor-in-chief of *The Tribune*—an office accepted by him with genuine reluctance, but with courage and determination. Untrammelled by tradition, he made *The Tribune* the exponent of a broad and catholic Americanism. In this he failed not to rally to his support scholarly and sagacious veterans of *The Tribune* establishment. After the disastrous close of the campaign of 1872, that which astonished friend and foe alike was the enormous amount of resources Mr. Reid's conduct had gained for him

in the shape of capital freely and confidently placed at his disposal. He was thus enabled to obtain entire control of *The Tribune*. It was under his control that the new *Tribune* building was erected, and the paper given an influence and financial worth far exceeding the Greeley regime.

In personal appearance Mr. Reid is tall and straight; the outlines of his face are bold, his cheek bones are high and his eyes are deeply set. He is direct and straightforward in conversation, absolutely true to his purposes, patient to the last degree, but quick and sure in action.

On October 26, 1881, Mr. Reid married the accomplished and handsome daughter of D. O. Mills, a California millionaire, who then made New York his home. Their city residence in New York is a palatial brown stone house at the corner of Madison avenue and Fiftieth street. Their country residence is at "Ophir Farm," a magnificent spot in the heart of West Chester county, where as much as $1,000,000 have been expended in the improvement of grounds and the erection of a residence which excels in grandeur the finest mansions of baronial times. They are blessed with two interesting children, Ogden Mills Reid and Jennie Reid, and both parents being of domestic turn, the household is a happy and delightful one.

Mr. Reid has filled the conspicuous and honorable positions of President of the Lotos Club and Regent of the University of New York State. As already said, he declined offers from Presidents Hayes and Garfield of the Mission to Germany. The offer of President Harrison, March 19, 1889, of the Mission to France he accepted, with a full knowledge of the fact that it embraced more than ordinary responsibilities. His wealth would enable him to grace the position, but would his diplomatic knowledge prove equal to the delicate task of effecting what was ex-

pected by an administration bent on enlarging our foreign commerce and establishing relations more intimate than ever existed before?

Fortunately for the country and for Mr. Reid, and greatly to the credit of Harrison's administration, he brought to bear on the situation the highest sagacity and was enabled to achieve results that would have failed in less circumspect hands. By adequate representation of a great power at a friendly capital, he made an impression on the public, the press and the government of France, whose great value is as little to be measured in precise terms as its record is to be found in blue-books and despatches. In the face of an embittered public opinion, created by the press of an almost united Europe, he succeeded in negotiating treaties which withdrew the barriers against the importation into France of American pork and which provided valuable concessions for other American products. These were services of an exalted kind and their influence will be felt for generations. They contributed greatly to Mr. Reid's fame as a skilled diplomat and enhanced the glory of the administration as to its vigorous and pronounced foreign policy.

In April, 1892, Mr. Reid returned to this country and laid down the honors of his post as Minister Plenipotentiary. He resumed his control of the *Tribune*, thoughtless of further political honors. But when the Minneapolis Convention nominated Harrison and began to look over the field for a suitable candidate for the Vice-Presidency, his name and fame could not be overlooked. He had been welcomed home by grand occasions arranged by the Chamber of Commerce of New York, by the Ohio Society and by the Lotos Club. He was free from entangling political alliances. He was justly the most conspicuous and distinguished of the citizens of his State. He was young, brilliant, available.

What so natural as that he came at once and prominently into the mind of the New York delegation as the man best fitted to occupy the place of Vice-Presidential candidate.

Therefore, it was that when the great convention assembled on the evening of June 10, 1892, Senator Edmund O'Connor, of Binghamton, N. Y., placed in nomination for the Vice-Presidency the name of Whitelaw Reid, of New York. General Horace Porter stepped upon the platform and seconded the nomination in an eloquent speech, saying, among other things, that the name he had to present would command the respect of all the people, being that of New York's favorite son, a worthy successor to Horace Greeley, the creator of modern journalism. General Porter's speech was exceedingly well received and he was frequently interrupted by applause. When he closed his remarks at 9.15 o'clock there was a prolonged burst of cheering that took the convention off its feet, and gave the most cold-blooded veteran among the delegates a thrill of contagious enthusiasm.

Delegate Settle, of Tennessee, then presented the name of Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. This nomination was seconded by a Kansas delegate amid enthusiastic cheering. Mr. Louthan, of Virginia, also seconded the nomination of the ex-Speaker of the House of Representatives in a brief but forcible speech.

Mr. Reed's name was soon withdrawn. Then simultaneously from the Iowa delegation and West Virginia delegation came motions that Whitelaw Reid be declared nominated by acclamation, and amid the greatest enthusiasm the nomination of Mr. Reid was made unanimous. Then the convention gave itself up to the most tumultuous cheering.

This nomination brought the work of the convention to harmonious and satisfactory end. It was felt that Mr. Reid's

nomination was fortunate from every point of view and that it was a deserved tribute to literary ability, diplomatic skill, business integrity and sterling American manhood. Furthermore, it was felt that by reason of location and by affiliation with a great and pure administration, the names of Harrison and Reid would prove talismanic in the battle of 1892 for American industrial supremacy at home and commercial supremacy upon the seas.

On June 21st, a committee appointed by the Minneapolis Convention waited on Mr. Reid at his country seat to officially notify him of his nomination. The speech of notification was made by Senator Du Bois. Mr. Reid's reply was in his happiest vein. After accepting the honor tendered and the doctrine propounded in the platform, he said:—

"You find a natural leader in the eminent public servant, the substantial results of whose wise and faithful administration furnish such inspiration for the canvass. I had expected to find associated with him my distinguished friend who now adorns the office of Vice-President. As the delegation of my State, and with it the representatives of the party at large, have thought it politically wise to adhere to the doctrine of rotation in office, it gives me the right to claim not merely the earnest support of a united party, of which we are sure, but the best counsel and the most watchful personal assistance of all its faithful and experienced leaders without exception, to the end that this great commonwealth may again throw its decisive vote, as it did four years ago, and indisputably can do again, on the Republican side.

"My State, and I think I may venture to add my profession, will appreciate the manner in which this nomination has been made and announced, deriving an added grace as

it does from the unanimous vote, from the character of this body of representative men from every section of our country.

"The political sky is bright with promise. It seems a Republican year, and, invoking the favor of Almighty God upon a cause which we profoundly believe just, we may courageously face the contest with the confident hope of victory at the end."

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

Hon. Grover Cleveland.

I.

PARENTAGE AND EDUCATION.

Ex-President Cleveland sprang from an old and distinguished New England ancestry. It is a line which is plentifully interspersed with specimens of thorough culture, high intellectual achievement, and true American instinct. His father, Richard F. Cleveland, was a Connecticut clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination, and different branches of the family held prominent pulpit places in the Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopalian Churches. They were all alike public-spirited men, intensely loyal to their convictions, and firmly attached to our free institutions.

The President's immediate ancestors formed a Connecticut branch of the large family. His great-grandfather was Aaron Cleveland, who lived and died in or near the town of Norwich, though born in East Haddam. He was a clergyman of considerable power and reputation, but with a turn for political life. A large and admiring constituency gave him opportunity to indulge his inclination by sending him to the State Legislature.

The two sons of Aaron Cleveland who are most conspicuously mentioned were Charles and William. Charles Cleveland, great-uncle of the ex-President, had a daughter who married Samuel Coxe. Their son, Alfred Cleveland Coxe, became Bishop of Western New York. The other son, William Cleveland, lived in Norwich most of his life, where he carried on the business of a silversmith. At a late period he went to Buffalo, N. Y., to live, that he might be near other members of his family who resided there. He died there in 1837.

William's son, Richard F. Cleveland, and father of the President, was born in Norwich, Jan. 19, 1804. He entered Yale College at the early age of sixteen years and graduated in 1824. He then went to Baltimore to teach school, in the meantime carrying on a series of studies designed to fit him for the ministry. In 1828 he was ordained a minister in the Presbyterian Church, and immediately took charge of the congregation at Haddam, Conn. While teaching in Baltimore he made the acquaintance of a Miss Neal, whom he married after he had been preaching about a year.

The Rev. Richard F. Cleveland was a man of high intellectual attainments, and a most devoted student. Study was a love beyond any thought of worldly advancement. In the course of his ministerial work, and soon after his marriage, he accepted a call at Caldwell, N. J., where he officiated for some years. Thence he removed to Fayetteville, Onondaga co., N. Y. After a time he moved to Clinton, Oneida co., and thence to Holland Patent, in the same county, where he died, Oct. 1, 1853. His wife, the ex-President's mother, lived till July 19, 1882, almost long enough to see her illustrious son elected to the highest office in the gift of the American people.

Ex-President Cleveland was born in Caldwell, Essex co.,

N. J., on March 18, 1837. He was therefore in the forty-eighth year of his age when he was elected, and one of the youngest of our Presidents. He was named Stephen Grover Cleveland, though popularly known as Grover Cleveland, the first part of his Christian name having fallen into disuse.

He was the fifth in a family of nine children, the others being Mrs. Hastings, William N. Cleveland, Mrs. Wm. E. Hoyt, Richard C. Cleveland, Mrs. N. B. Bacon, Lewis F. Cleveland, Mrs. L. Youmans, and Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, the latter unmarried, a lady of strong intellectual capacity, and a prominent woman suffrage advocate.

The two-story-and-a-half white house in which the ex-President was born is still standing. At the age of three years he left the scene of his birth to accompany the family to their new home in Fayetteville, N. Y. Here he grew to stout and active boyhood, amid the advantages then common to village life, not the least of which was good common schooling.

At the age of fourteen he desired to supplement his common school education with an academic one. His father was somewhat averse to this step, on the score of expense, and because he desired his boys to become self-supporting as soon as possible. Accepting the parental verdict as final, the youth started out to earn his own living, and push his own way in life.

He entered the village store at a salary of fifty dollars for the first year, which sum was to be made one hundred for the second year, in case he proved efficient. The boy's pluck and energy did not fail him. His record in this humble position bespoke the coming man. It was one of simple, unswerving integrity and untiring loyalty to the interests of his employer. In public place, and in mature

years, it has ever been one of faithful adherence to deep-rooted conviction and much-admired devotion to the interests of the people who honored him with their confidence and support. The testimony is unimpeachable that whatever the boy found to do in the capacity in which he was first called to serve he did with all his heart, and that in the earliest chapter of his history of self-helpfulness and business independence there is indelibly written down a reputation for bravery of spirit, fidelity to trust, and candor of character, which has outlived the intermediate years.

The quality of courage, inherent in his composition, and of ambition to acquire a broader education, were seconded by economic habits; so that after a year or two spent in the Fayetteville store, and when his father moved to Clinton, the youth rejoiced in a realization of his dreams by being permitted to attend the academy in the village. Here he made rapid progress in learning, for his purse was meagre, and opportunity long coveted was to be turned to speedy account. His father, with a large family to support, and only a limited income to rely upon, could not supplement his efforts to acquire a higher education. The path to success must be cut out of the hard rock of limited circumstances by the boy's own ingenious and persevering hand. Right well he held the chisel, and right well directed the stroke. Acquisition with him was easy, and his academic career profitable, though brief. Education under such circumstances may not be so full as when plenty of time and money is at command, but it is better appreciated, and often far more practical. Moreover, it is an incentive to higher endeavor, for both youth and manhood are at their best when it is understood that the price of victory is hard blows with the weapons of one's own earning.

The breaking up of the paternal home in Clinton, by the

GROVER CLEVELAND.

removal of his father to Holland Patent, a village of some five or six hundred people, fifteen miles north of Utica, ended his academic career. In this new field the father preached but three Sundays, when death ended his pastorate. Grover first heard of his father's death while walking with his sister in the streets of Utica. The sad event was followed by the final break-up of a large family, which a loving hand had held together and inspired with a truly Christian spirit. The children all sought honorable walks in life, and even those who have not found renown are in possession of that independence, peace, and comfort which often count for more than fame.

As Rev. Richard F. Cleveland died Oct. 1, 1853, the son, Grover, must have been in his seventeenth year. Though young to brave life without a father's counsel, he struck eastward and found himself in the city of New York. Here he seems to have been fortunate in securing a situation as teacher in the New York City Blind Asylum, where he had a record as a devoted instructor and a great reader and student. His tastes, or ambitions, were not, however, satisfied in this confined situation. The world of the schoolroom was not large enough for him. There were other things in store, and he would seek them. Two years ended his teaching career, and he started for the West.

II.

AS A LAWYER AND OFFICIAL.

The young man's westward journey was without definite plan, and even without destination, except in so far as the persuasions of a friend had induced him to inspect the city of Cleveland, Ohio, and try his fortune in what was then regarded as one of the most growthy and promising cities of the West. The coincidence of the name with his own augured well, if boyish fancy were to play a part in establishing his fortune. He therefore made that city his objective point. Fortunately, he stopped for a time in Buffalo, where he found a maternal uncle, Lewis F. Allen, a man held in high esteem in Erie county, one who had been honored by many public positions, and who in turn had honored them.

Mr. Allen was very favorably impressed with his nephew and young adventurer. He persuaded him that Buffalo offered as many opportunities for success as any more remote place, and kindly proffered him much good counsel and encouragement. Young Grover's predilections for the West were overcome. He resolved to stay with his uncle. Mr. Allen was than a noted breeder of blooded stock-cattle. His farms in the neighborhood of Buffalo were extensive, and his herds had a reputation for purity of quality which was not limited by State lines. Desiring to perfect his operations, he placed young Grover in charge of the herd-books, at the modest sum of fifty dollars a year and found, but with the understanding that he was to look around him for other occupation in case this proved irksome. The old

uncle evidently knew that a young man with aspirations for Western life, and with ambitions to succeed, could not be abruptly switched off his line of intent, unless he himself largely acquiesced in the diversion.

Besides, the youth had already signified his intention to make himself a lawyer. This ambition he soon found means to gratify. The entry of herd varieties, the noting of pedigrees for Alderneys, short horns, Durhams, etc., was not such sleepy work as to close his eyes to chances for getting on, even though the location was two miles beyond the centre of the city. On the contrary, it was a work which gave him the control of much leisure. This he resolved to turn to account.

He made application to the law firm of Messrs. Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, in Buffalo, to be entered as a student. Success followed the application. He had now the double care of editing an important stock book and drinking in the lore of Blackstone and Coke upon Littleton. From farm to office, and back, he walked each day, winter and summer, till he passed his final examination and was admitted to the bar.

This period of acquisition, under difficulties which would have appalled a youth with less pluck, served as a training time for the qualities which were to round out the able practitioner and assure his professional success. The privations of the penniless novitiate were over. His receptive mind had made the labor of learning light, and this was the one joy which had pervaded the long, difficult and weary pupilage.

The date of his admission to the bar was 1859, he then being in his twenty-third year. Such was the confidence of the firm in his ability and integrity that he remained with it for three or four years after his admission. He thus added

to previous training a large experience in active practice and came to be noted for his close preparation of cases, his clear and forcible method of statement, and his untiring adherence to the cause he espoused. The elements of growth which bore him over the obstacles of previous years were now lifting him into honorable competition with the older lights of the bar. If these elements, as they now cropped out, were to be reduced to speech, they must be enumerated as exhaustive preparation, stern adhesion to purpose, avoidance of legal quirk, just and faithful representation, sterling honesty in details, loyal adhesion to clientage. Back of these were a commanding presence, a gracious demeanor, a fervid style of eloquence, which bespoke the confidence of courts and juries, and stamped him as one calculated to win as much through worth as energy. Says one of his early associates in Buffalo:—"Grover Cleveland won our admiration by his three traits of indomitable industry, unpretentious courage and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook. Whatever the subject was he was reticent until he had mastered all its bearings and made up his own mind, and then nothing could swerve him from his convictions. It was this quality of intellectual integrity more than anything else perhaps, that made him afterwards listened to and respected when men with greater dash and brilliancy who were opposed to him were applauded and forgotten."

In 1863, the honors which could not long be withheld from a man of his solidity of character and pronounced professional status, fell upon him in the shape of a call to the position of Assistant District Attorney of Erie county. The call came at the instance of his associates at the bar, who had united in a recommendation which was almost unanimous. This was the true beginning of his public career.

HON. WILLIAM C. P. BRECKINRIDGE.

Born August 28, 1837, at Lexington, Ky.; graduated at Centre College, Danville, April 26, 1855; studied law in Law Department of University of Louisville, and graduated February 27, 1857; admitted to bar and engaged in profession at native place; elected to 49th, 50th, 51st and 52d Congresses, as a Democrat, to represent Seventh Kentucky District; distinguished as an able orator and parliamentarian; member of Committee on Appropriations and State Department Expenditures.

It is significant that it had an origin in a confidence which was widely diffused, and untrammeled by creed or politics. It was an unquestioned, unlimited confidence, such as goes out only to those whose manhood is their guarantee of freedom from belittling influences and false actions. He was a Democrat, and had passed from boyhood to manhood as such. But while imbued with lively party convictions and given to earnest advocacy of vital party tenets, he never stooped to the use of questionable methods, and never forgot for a moment the proper attitude of parties toward the State, the nation, and the institutions which inlay and overshadow all. There was no asperity in his politics, and none of that narrow, intense partyism which estranges friends, sanctions corrupt practices, or refuses to see any good in men and things outside of clannish limits. In the hour of war he placed country before party. In the hour of peace he recognized the uses of party as legitimate and purifying, provided partyism did not run away with and pervert honorable and acceptable methods.

For all of the above reasons, his associates at the bar and the citizens of his town found it fitting to honor him with his first public trust. While serving in the capacity of Assistant District Attorney he was drafted, and promptly furnished a substitute. His career in this office extended over a period of three years. How acceptably he had served was shown by the fact that he received the nomination of his party for the position of District Attorney in 1865. His opponent on the Republican ticket, Lyman K. Bass, was successful, after a spirited contest, in which Mr. Cleveland showed himself much stronger than his party.

On the first of January, 1866, he formed a law partnership with the late J. V. Vanderpool, which continued till January, 1869. It then ended by the withdrawal of Mr. Vanderpool

to fill the position of Police Justiceship to which he had been elected. After this dissolution a new law-firm was formed, known as Laning, Cleveland and Folsom, the head of it being Hon. A. P. Laning, State Senator. While in this firm and in the enjoyment of a lucrative practice he was called upon to serve again in a public capacity. This time it was as Sheriff of Erie county. The office is not usually regarded as one requiring more than average ability to fill it, nor does it ordinarily open a field for the exercise of very high or commanding qualities. But in this instance, not only the Democratic, but a conspicuous factor in the Republican party, had an object to accomplish which could be done in no other way and through no other agency. Gross favoritism and glaring corruption had crept into the administration of the office. The management had become an offense to every element of justice and defiant of every reform remedy. The majority of the dominant party in the county was usually large, running from three to six thousand. Democracy alone had a poor show to correct crying evils. It was only by putting up a man for the place whose character was in itself a guarantee of the reforms demanded that they could hope to draw the Republican contingent necessary to secure his election. Their choice fell on Grover Cleveland as the man for the emergency. He would necessarily have to make a great personal and professional sacrifice if he succeeded, but he was a man who shrank from no consideration of expediency when a great public interest had to be subserved. The purification of a pest-house disturbs the stereotyped order of things and puts society and individuals to much present discomfort. But the general good must be consulted, and he is not a hero who refuses to second every effort to further the sanative and social welfare of his community.

Full of this laudably sacrificial spirit and with the determination to introduce marked and lasting reforms into a position whose status had been shamefully lowered, he stood for the election, and was flatteringly successful. His administration was what was expected of a man of his integrity and firmness. He broke up corrupt practices, wiped out the shame which clouded the office and gave to execution of county affairs a new direction and more significant meaning. He showed that dignity could be made to crown the actions of an official, even though the office was that of sheriff. The object of his election was fully met by his vigor and straightforwardness. At the end of his term he returned the office to the majority party as a model piece of county machinery and an evidence of what reforms could be achieved if officials would only keep in view the best interests of those they are called upon to serve. His administration was not forgotten in Buffalo. The man for this emergency would prove the man for others, when the need should become equally great.

His election to the sheriffalty occurred in the fall of 1869 His acceptance put an end to his partnership in the law-firm of Laning, Cleveland and Folsom. At the expiration of his official term he had to look around for other connections. Soon a partnership was formed with Lyman K. Bass, his old opponent in the race for District Attorney, and Wilson S. Bissell, the firm being known as that of Bass, Cleveland and Bissell.

He was now back on favorite professional ground, after a diversion which had brought into conspicuous view his masterly executive qualities and familiarized the Western end of the State with an administration whose vigor was only surpassed by its purity. In a short time Mr. Bass removed from Buffalo and the law-firm became Cleveland, Bissell and

Sicard. It took rank at once as among the foremost, if not the foremost, in Western New York, a reputation which was secured and maintained by the large acquaintance, high standing, and recognized legal ability of the head of the firm. Their office was in spacious and prominent quarters on Main street, where each member had his own library, consulting room and other facilities for carrying on the different branches of their rapidly growing business. Cleveland and Bissell were both very large men physically, and they were often jokingly called the heavy weights of the firm. Both were dignified and affable in demeanor, and aside from their reputation as sound and successful lawyers, were calculated to attract a large clientage and inspire it with the utmost confidence.

In this partnership Mr. Cleveland regarded himself as settled for life. Success was crowning his efforts and gratifying his ambitions. He has been heard to say that he was content with his partners and his practice. Had he been left with them, he need never have entertained a fear that his merits would have been overlooked by the great public, nor that all the rewards of industry, honesty, and ability would have failed to cluster in his path.

Says one who was well acquainted with him at this period: "It was while thus associated that Grover Cleveland achieved his distinction as a lawyer second to few in the Western part of the State for legal acumen and intellectual honesty. His jury and bench trials were distinguished by clear views, direct, simple logic, and a thorough mastery of all the intricacies of the cases, and his invariable avoidance of extrinsic issues and purely technical devices secured for him the respect of his own profession and the admiration of the public."

III.

MAYOR OF BUFFALO.

Destiny forbade a long continuance of this smoothly running tide. Municipal politics in Buffalo had assumed a shape repugnant to the better citizens of both parties. Powerful rings existed which partitioned offices and their spoils and perpetuated themselves with autocratic certainty and audacity. Ingenious and corrupting cliques in both parties conspired to plunder and divide. Perhaps the city was not unlike others in this respect, except as to the enormity of the evil, and the difficulty of a hopeful attack upon it. He must possess more than ordinary bravery and tenacity of purpose who ventured to deal the first blow at a situation turreted with power and manned by skilled political manipulators. Redemptory effort, to be effective, must come from a source above all suspicion, must be as persistent as a forge-hammer, and regardless of consequences so far as they affected persons, parties or questions of sheer expediency. All during the year 1881 the cry for local reform, which it was well understood could only come by political revolution, went up. Was there a man in the midst popular enough to place experiment beyond reach of failure? Was there one indomitable enough to venture into the dens where the lions of power divided and devoured their dark and secret conquests?

It seemed that there was one. His party singled him out, at least the true men of his party. The true men of the Republican party said he was the man of all others best calculated to meet the requirements of the difficult situation.

They heartily seconded his selection, and joined hands with a will to give him a triumph at the polls. In a Republican stronghold, and against combinations which reached far toward the centre of his own party, he was chosen Mayor by 5,000 majority; running far in advance of the State ticket. If the election were a testimonial to his fortitude, integrity and popularity, unexampled in Buffalo history, or even in the history of the State, what must the net results of his administration stand for? November, 1881, was morning in a city whose politics had been a Cimmerian midnight.

His mayoralty was in the exact line of that pronounced sentiment to which he owed the honors of his election. It fully justified the expectations that were created by his well-known character and previous public record. The nomination had come to him unsought and undesired, the election by that spontaneity which ever marks a great popular and tidal resolve, and prints its meaning so that even he that runneth cannot mistake it.

The man and his methods were now to stand the test. He was happily untrammeled in his choice of the latter. His own good judgment was to be his criterion. This judgment had been greatly widened and strengthened by his practice at the bar, and his ample opportunities to study men and political ways and measures. As to aught else there was no fear, for his turn was executive, his nature sterling and invincible. He was his own counsellor. With characteristic industry he passed the first weeks after election in studying the details of every department of the city administration and mapping a programme from which there should be no departure either under vituperation or applause.

His inaugural address sounded the key-note of adminis-

tration. "We hold," said he, "the money of the people in our hands, to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds with which the taxpayers have thus intrusted us are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have to that extent violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears as though the office-holder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the taxpayers than that which should regulate his conduct, when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbor."

Such was the great need of reform in the city, the desperation of the battle to be fought, the explicit character of his pledges, the firmness of the man, the curiosity to note the outcome of the administrative struggle, that both parties throughout the entire State looked on Buffalo and its mayoralty as a prime part of a political drama, whose further enactment in municipal high places for their purification and enlightenment should depend on its success where first introduced. The Buffalo reform movement was to be not only for Buffalo, but it was to be a criterion by which all municipal reforms were to be graduated, after which all should pattern, through which all should derive hope and encouragement.

It is not in stations of glittering magnitude that men are put to the severest tests. "The qualities," says Socrates, "that fit a man to rule a city, fit him to rule an empire." Indeed, it is true that public responsibility is deepest, and official worth most radically tested, the nearer the office lies

to the people. This is what makes municipal government such a delicate and difficult thing. The fortitude, the knowledge of men and situations, the integrity, the statesmanlike grasp, which are necessary, in a municipal executive, to assure pure and acceptable administration, are no more largely required, and certainly never so constantly called into active requisition, where the executive is even that of a State or nation.

Scarcely had he launched his administration when it drew the concentrated fire of his political enemies. The City Council was against him, with its love of jobbery and adhesion to practices he would uproot and discard. The old rings encircled him, either to gather him into deceptive embrace or crush him in their deadening coils. A street-cleaning contract, as immense as it was iniquitous, went through the Council. It was the grand opportunity of the pilfering politician to enrich himself and friends. It was a type of the jobs which had impoverished the city and brought its administration into discredit. It was, moreover, the kind of enactment which cemented municipal influence and made it hazardous to his popularity for an executive officer to crush it with his veto. But the veto came, and in this instance promptly and with telling effect. It was as if a bomb had suddenly burst in the midst of the plunderers. "This is a time," said he, in his veto message, "for plain speech, and my objection to your action shall be plainly stated. I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people and to worse than squander the public money. We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people either in or out of your honorable body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly."

HON. GEORGE GRAHAM VEST.

Born at Frankfort, Ky., December 6, 1830; graduated at Centre College, Ky., 1848, and at Law Department of Transylvania University, 1853; same year moved to Missouri and began practice of law; Presidential Elector on Democratic ticket, 1860; member of Missouri Legislature, 1860–61; served for two years as member of Confederate Congress, and one year in Confederate Senate; elected to U. S. Senate, as a Democrat, 1879; re-elected 1885 and 1890; member of Committees on Transportation, Commerce, Judiciary, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Quadro-Centennial.

The people, who knew their man before, now knew him better. In fact, his political enemies knew him quite too well. He was not the stuff that tricksters and cowards are made of, but the sterling metal which enters into men coined and stamped for great occasions. His action was received with the greatest favor by his party friends, and by the friends of purity and decorum throughout the county and State. It was a harbinger of other victories far more significant, and an earnest that municipal reform was at last within reach of a long aggrieved people. He was heralded far and wide as the strong, incorruptible, invincible hero of an emergency before which others had quailed and fell. The results of this single veto to the city were of incalculable benefit. Its moral effect was felt in every department. The political atmosphere was freshened. From an economical standpoint, the saving was immense. Under a subsequent ordinance, and the contracts based on it, the work was done for $100,000 less money than at first proposed.

It is hardly necessary for the exemplification of Grover Cleveland's fortitude, integrity, and wonderful executive ability, to go into painstaking and tedious details of his mayoralty. We understand why he was chosen and what was expected of him. A thousand instances of heroic and timely application of the power with which he was vested would not magnify the importance of the verdict of approval which awaited the closing hours of his administration. Nor would such serve to further illuminate those qualities of manhood he was now seen to possess in a degree which astounded and overawed his opponents. Yet mention must be made of his second struggle with the powerful and corrupting influences about him. This was a job to build a large connecting sewer. The issue was sharply joined, the

contention bitter. The mayor's pluck and earnestness won, and his second victory was far more significant than the first. It saved $800,000 to the city. Altogether the first six months of his administration saved to the city an amount estimated at $1,000,000. This magnificent aggregate might be safely doubled, if the entire term of his mayoralty were to be considered. True, the rings were daunted and never rallied to other audacious attacks on the treasury, yet the mayor found frequent uses for his veto power in order to preserve the position he had won and drive home on his opponents the wholesome effects of his reformatory teaching. Not a single ordinance was ever passed over his veto. His veto messages were models of directness and exactness.

We search American political annals in vain for an example of municipal administration so vigorous, effective and productive of permanent good, as that which Grover Cleveland gave to Buffalo. His comprehension of a delicate and difficult situation, his mastery of details, his development of an executive policy, his firm yet dignified command of the powers at his disposal, his persistent following up of every advantage gained, and finally his turning of the government back to the people, washed as to its shame and purified as to its corruption, constitute a chapter in his life whose reading is inspiriting to both old and young, and whose contemplation ought to be a source of pride to any man, no matter with what high honors his after life was crowned. Let it not be forgotten that he had made no quest of the honors of office. No election fanfaronade attended his candidacy. No single act of self-glorification or self-advancement entered into his ministrations. A good and true man found a trust to be executed in a plain, honest, faithful, industrious way. The way was that of the people, and they neither failed to remember nor to thank and honor. While

a local constituency were ringing the plaudit, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant!" the people of an entire State were getting ready to say, "Come up unto higher places and honors."

While yet mayor, and in the spring of 1882, he had occasion to testify to the American spirit regnant within him as presiding officer of a mass-meeting called to take action on the case of Irish-Americans then aggrieved by English tyranny and actually suffering from imprisonment in Ireland. As is well known, our foreign policy was regarded as too feeble to reach these cases and to make American citizenship respected abroad. Our minister to England seemed to be indifferent to the fate of those naturalized Irishmen who, on a visit to their native land and on natural expression of sympathy with their long-suffering countrymen, had fallen into the category of suspects, and had been, without hearing, deprived of their liberty by incarceration in British bastiles. Neither did there seem to be a sentiment at home sufficiently pronounced to demand the rights indubitably attached to the name of American. The Buffalo meeting was one of protest against a policy of weakness and timidity on the part of our government. It was directly in the interest of our citizens of foreign birth. One who had not their cause at heart, a mere politician with selfish aims, or with fears for his popularity, a trimmer for place and without character or substantial convictions, might have remanded such a matter to the Secretary of State at Washington, or complacently declined to interfere with a question which concerned only a fraction of our populace. But Mayor Cleveland was as ready to stand as the representative of American citizenship in its broadest and fullest significance as to throttle corruption in his adopted city. As chairman of this meeting, he pointed out, from a strictly legal and

constitutional standpoint, and with a clearness and precision which always characterized his presentation of pleas, the common right of native-born and adopted citizens of this country to protection from the Government at Washington the world over. Then, proceeding in a strain of earnest and impassioned eloquence, which captured every hearer, he enunciated the following doctrine, which, if incorporated as an American citizen plank into a political platform, any candidate for even so high an office as President might be proud to stand upon:

"It needed not the statute which is now the law of the land, declaring that 'all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens,' to voice the policy of our nation. In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization. At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England. We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatsoever those laws may be, they shall, in the interests of human freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion without examination on trial is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned—ours will not. And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute. We have met here to-night to consider this subject and to inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law

HON. THOMAS F. BAYARD.

Born at Wilmington, Del., October 29, 1828; educated at Flushing School; studied law and admitted to bar in 1851; appointed District Attorney for Delaware, 1853; elected to United States Senate, 1869; re-elected, 1875 and 1881; member of Electoral Commission, 1876; in Democratic National Convention, 1880, received 153½ votes as candidate for President; in Convention of 1884, received 170 votes on first ballot; chosen Secretary of State by President Cleveland in 1885, and served during Cleveland Administration; distinguished as an able official, an eloquent orator, ready debater, and pure-minded statesman of conservative mold; has lived in retiracy since March, 1889.

declares that the Government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the Government. The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion, imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded, 'Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?' So, too, might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization, 'Is it lawful that these our fellows be imprisoned who are American citizens and uncondemned?'"

IV.

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

In 1882 the political situation in New York State was peculiar. The Republican managers had nominated a ticket from Governor down, which did not reflect the sentiment of their party. It was believed to be directly in the interest of President Arthur, and to be his attempt to assume, or rather retain, control of the party machinery in the State. Further, the methods resorted to in convention, in order to secure the nomination of favorites, were regarded as unfair and dishonorable. They were tricks, whose results were bound to recoil on their perpetrators. There was a revolt all along the line, and a determination to rebuke a procedure which savored of corruption and punish the principals who expected to find preferment in a resort to it.

Democratic candidates were not wanting who were anxious to take advantage of the situation. They saw in Republican schism an opportunity for triumph which was tempting to every adventurer. But the wiser heads of the party saw further than this. And without disparagement to the older, it must be said that the younger elements of the party composed to a large extent these wiser heads. They saw that the Republican candidates—especially Mr. Folger, candidate for Governor—were personally unobjectionable, and that the protest was not so much against men as against the ring methods which secured their nomination and the objects to be gained by such nominations. They also saw that a weak and frivolous Democratic nomination, one made on the pretext that anybody could be elected, would only

serve to drive back the protesting Republicans into the deserted ranks and endanger the entire situation. Again, they saw that in order to add emphasis to the protest they must present in their candidate an assurance that, if elected, a perfectly pure State administration would ensue. The opportunity they saw was not one for a mere man; but for their party, the people, the entire State. They knew full well the difficulties attending gubernatorial administration in New York, the traps and pitfalls laid for honest men, the temptations to go astray, the impossibilities, one may say, of a perfectly straight official career, unless the incumbent should come clad in tried armor.

In looking over the interesting situation, the eyes of the party naturally turned to Grover Cleveland. In many respects the State outlook was like that which preceded his call to the mayoralty of Buffalo. At any rate, they saw in the man who was winning the encomiums of both parties for his straightforward, impartial, and business-like municipal administration, the candidate they wanted for the highest office in the State. His was a character above suspicion at the start, and one which would bear closest scrutiny even under the calcium light of a campaign. He had been tried in the severest of crucial fires, and no element of a successful executive had been found wanting. He was known, too, within and without his party. All in all, Cleveland presented in himself and in his record the very guarantee the Democracy desired for themselves, and also to offer to the Republicans. So he was placed on their ticket as candidate for governor against Mr. Folger, one of the best known men in the State, and one of the ablest.

The campaign was an interesting one from the beginning. The missiles of the enemy flew thick and fast, but failed to wound or even hit the Democratic nominee. He grew

stronger and stronger from the very day of his nomination. The enthusiasm his name kindled in his own party held it to a strict allegiance and drew an overflowing support. Study of his character by the protesting Republicans, and favorable knowledge of him, both as a man and official, attracted thousands directly to his standard and led other thousands to show their preference for him over their own nominee by silent acquiescence. Both parties, in the State and nation, were astounded at the result. It could hardly be called popular election—it was rather popular revolution. Never was the wisdom of a nomination so emphatically vindicated. Never did the American people voluntarily tender so lavish an ovation to one whom they honored and trusted. His vote was 535,318, against 342,464 for his opponent, leaving him a plurality of 192,854, and a clear majority over all opposition of 155,097. The height of the wave which bore the new Governor from his home in the extreme western part of the State to the capital in the extreme eastern part, and which strewed hills and valleys with Republican wreckage, was unprecedented in political history.

The movement which made him governor, like that which had made him mayor, was not of his origination. The office had in both instances sought the man, as it should do in a republic, and as it ever will do where purely unselfish administration is expected. Nor had he stooped to favor his chances of election. He was in the hands of the people, and his cause was their cause.

He was inaugurated, without any ostentatious display, on the first Tuesday of January, 1883. He thoroughly understood the political situation, and speedily addressed himself to the reforms which he knew were expected of him. His inaugural was brief, forcible and happy—the duplicate

HON. CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD.

Born in Cazenovia, N. Y., April 30, 1842; graduated at Harvard, 1863; studied law at Harvard Law School and admitted to bar, 1865; practiced for several years in firm of Hand, Hale, Swartz & Fairchild; elected Attorney General of New York, as Democrat, 1876; settled in New York city, 1880, and practiced law; appointed Assistant Secretary of Treasury by President Cleveland in 1885; succeeded Daniel Manning as Secretary of Treasury, April 1, 1887; an able lawyer and financier, and conspicuous Democratic leader in New York.

of the man in vigor and sincerity. It meant business. Touching the civil service of the State, he said:

"Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished and the cause of civil-service reform materially aided. The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls or to secure legislation is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is willful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations, when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation."

The first acts of an executive calculated to invite attention and criticism, as well as to foreshadow the policy of his administration, are his appointments to office. There is no

public duty so delicate, none in which mistakes recoil so quickly. It must be set down to Governor Cleveland's credit that his first appointments were made with rare good judgment. Political friend and foe indorsed them as the wisest selections possible, and saw at once in them an earnest of the kind of administration they had hoped for and been led to expect.

Two places were of peculiar importance—that of Superintendent of Public Works and Commissioner of the New Capitol. Public money had been running through these like water through a sieve. They were centres of immense patronage and power, and were consequently much coveted by those who would use them for political purposes. Both offices employed hundreds of men. For each of them Governor Cleveland selected a man fitted by practice and special knowledge to do the required work. They were both outspoken, square-dealing experts in the business they were called upon to conduct. After their appointment the ugly rumors of corruption which formerly centred about their places were hushed, and the people were satisfied that order and economy prevailed where once all was confusion, extravagance and distrust.

All other appointments were characterized by the same independence and close discernment of fitness and character. In so far as these acts could contribute to energy and purity of administration, it was manifest that Governor Cleveland was bound to prove an exceptional executive, that he had within him a probity, fearlessness and business address before which the better sentiment of the State must bow with respect.

It must not be supposed that he escaped the vulgar criticism of those who could not use him for their ambitious and corrupt purposes. No great, unselfish, direct, single-

purposed man can act either his business or political part without incurring the opposition, and even inviting the censure, of the smaller and narrower herd who delight in distraction and feed on enmities. The measure of admiration for Governor Cleveland, while a candidate before the Chicago Convention, was well expressed by a prominent delegate who said, "I love the man for the enemies he has made." It is not complimentary to our political society to feel that true greatness is often an invitation for envious discrimination and malignant attack. Yet we fear it must be accepted as true that those virtues which we most seek and prize in public men are the very ones whose persistent exercise provoke the bitterest hostility of the tricky and unconscionable few. Out of the million voters of the Empire State, only a modicum of mere trading politicians chose to withhold their admiration for Governor Cleveland's energetic and business-like policy, as foreshadowed and proved by his executive appointments. He showed in them all a keen analysis of character and a knowledge of official fitness which were in the highest degree complimentary. In every instance the result proved the wisdom of his choice, and in no respect has his administration been more powerfully vindicated.

In attention to the details of legislation Governor Cleveland proved himself constant, guarded and thoughtful. His messages, models of terseness and vigor, were laden with clear-cut, practical advice, so that even the most wayward could not mistake his spirit and meaning. It may well be questioned whether any State administration ever crowded into so brief a space so many substantial and far-reaching reforms. And what is more worthy of note, this monumental work was marred in but few places by idle, irrelevant and impracticable legislation, owing to his watchfulness and free use of the veto power.

Perhaps his administration was expected to achieve most in the way of reforms in the government of New York city. If judged by their extent and importance, it was wonderfully successful, and too much credit cannot be given the executive through whose agency they were effected. In urging and fostering them he had to combat an element in his own party, which had all along been defiant of interference. But the seven reform bills relating to the city went through and received his approval all the same. The autocratic power of the old Board of Aldermen was smashed, the princely incomes of county officers were cut down to respectable salaries, the political atmosphere was purified, a freer and better ballot was promised. No more difficult task ever lay before an executive. He was compelled to brave an opposition at once political and personal, clamorous and slanderous, malignant and threatening. He never swerved for a moment, but went right on. Let it be written that what fifty years of effort on the part of a score of governors failed to achieve for New York city was accomplished by Governor Cleveland in a single year of energetic, fearless and consistent administration.

The general features of his administration were no less acceptable to the people and creditable to the man and official. He vetoed the "Five-Cent-Car-Fare-Bill," of which veto the New York *Tribune* said:—

"The message containing his reasons for so doing is straightforward and forcible, and we believe will be pronounced sound by most of those who have been strenuous in their demands for a reduction of fares on the elevated roads. His objections to the measure are of a serious nature. He argues that to suffer it to become a law would mean the impairment of the obligation of a contract, involv-

ing a breach of faith and a betrayal of confidence by the State."

He vetoed the "Mechanic's Lien Bill," a carelessly drawn bill, ostensibly in the interest of the working man, but as he showed in his veto message, really in the interest of lawyers and court-hangers-on. The gist of the veto was as follows:—

"The bill repeals in distinct terms a number of mechanics' lien laws, including one specially applicable to the city of New York. I notice two features which I think objectionable enough to warrant me in declining to sign it. First, it gives all parties having claims four months after performance of work or furnishing of material to file a lien. Second, it allows on proceedings to enforce the lien the same costs as in foreclosure cases. This would be quite onerous, and, I think, should not be allowed."

He vetoed the "Twelve-Hours-Bill," which was designed to limit the day of street car employés to twelve hours. His reasoning was thus:—

"It is distinctly and palpably class legislation, in that it only applies to conductors and drivers on horse railroads. It does not prohibit the making of a contract for any number of hours' work, I think, and if it does, it is an interference with the employés' as well as employers' rights. If the car-drivers and conductors work fewer hours they must receive less pay, and this bill does not prevent that. I cannot think that this bill is in the interest of the workingman."

The Public Worship bill was one granting permission to the Catholic clergy to hold services at the House of Refuge, on Randall's Island. This bill he never vetoed. It only passed one branch of the Assembly, and therefore never reached the Governor. Of the Catholic Protectory bill, his failure to approve which was harshly used against him, there can be but one opinion. It appropriated $30,000 to improve

the sewerage of the Catholic Protectory, built by the church in Westchester county for the reception and reform of young men and women sent there by magistrates of the surrounding counties. The laws of the State prevented the use of public moneys for sectarian uses. The fate of the bill would have been the same had the institution been Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, or that of any other denomination. He was merely keeping his oath to observe and execute the laws.

Much account was made at the time of his veto of the "Tenure of Office Bill." The fact is the bill was glaringly defective, and the most pronounced friends of the bill admitted as much after its defects were pointed out in the veto message.

Such is the peculiarity of executive function that of the hundreds of bills signed and which enure to the general good we hear nothing. It is those which are vetoed which damn or praise an executive, because these are the ones which embrace some current thought, too often the outcrop of passion, or too frequently the embodiment of something evanescent. It must be conceded that no executive ever made freer use of the veto power than Governor Cleveland. But, all in all, his use of the veto power proved discreet and was sanctioned by intelligent popular approval. His messages were all well-studied, clear-cut papers, evidences of exhaustive analysis of measures and deep research respecting them, and assurances of the most impartial motive and deepest rectitude of intention. Judged by his vetoes alone, his administration not only attracted the widest approval but stood unparalleled for its vigor and consistency. A feeble man, one without the true executive instinct, would have quailed before corrupting pressure or unreasoning clamor, and often given sanction to measures which his

inner conscience disapproved. But Grover Cleveland moved on a highly conscientious plane, regardless of partisan appeal, brutal threat or slanderous arrow, never counting the bearing his conduct might have on his personal or political fortune, apparently bound only to the discharge of a duty he owed to the whole people. There is observable at every turn of his executive career stern adhesion to the cardinal principles that preserved and honored his youth and gave him a firm foothold among his fellow-citizens as an humble attorney. His scrutiny of every bill was close, and attended with a sharp legal insight. As he had been his own counsellor while mayor, so he was really his own Attorney-General while Governor. His vetoes stood every test applied to them, and not one rejected bill was passed over his protest. Many bills were returned because improperly and loosely drawn. These, when amended so as to be no longer inconsequential or mere deadwood accumulations on the statute books, he afterwards approved. Whether in signing bills or rejecting them he bestowed a diligence, patience, and competent inquiry which have elicited the warmest esteem of the fair-minded people of the State. They looked upon him as a strong, determined, unselfish man in whom, as executive, there was full security. It was this very sense of security that put him in the minds of the people as candidate for President, and made him so successful a nominee.

It must not be imagined that his tenacity of principle and disregard of consequences made him indifferent or conservative. On the contrary he was ever alive to surroundings, watchful of the movements of public sentiment, and at the front as a progressist, whether the column was political, social or moral. The Civil Service Act for the State of New York, a miniature of the system soon after adopted by the

General Government, received his unqualified sanction. Of the same spirit were the Reform bills for New York city, and numberless others to mention which would be tiresome and unprofitable.

The personal and business habits of Grover Cleveland as governor were those the public were to become more familiar with in higher station. The "bachelor governor" as he was then facetiously called was of height above the average, broad-shouldered and commanding, with a decided tendency toward corpulency. His face was regular, clear cut, strong and handsome. It was then, and for reasons the reader will readily appreciate, still more now a paternal face, being reserved yet genial, firm yet kind, dignified yet not distant. His business manner was and is brusque yet simple, precisely that required for promptitude and dispatch. His social mood is pleasing and assuring after the formalities of introduction. When not pressed with business care he is open to all comers, and the rag-picker and the prince find his hand equally extended. Notwithstanding his avoirdupois he is of nervous temperament, and by dint of study and self-control finds himself easy in society and calm in emergency. His complexion is neither ruddy nor light, his hair is brown, slightly inclined to gray, and his massive, shapely head begins to plead guilty to baldness. When governor, he was a persistent walker, and made the distance of half a mile between his residence and the capitol, daily on foot, both ways. As President this was turned into horseback riding.

During the whole term of his gubernatorial career, he was the subject of persistent misrepresentation by the Tammany organization of New York city. That organization tried to use him for its purposes, and in more than one instance courted hostility. But it never succeeded in drawing the

HON. L. Q. C. LAMAR.

Born in Putnam co., Ga., September 1, 1825; graduated at Emory College, 1845; admitted to Macon bar, 1847; professor in Univ. of Mississippi, 1849; resumed practice of law in Covington, Ga.; elected to Georgia Legislature, 1853-54; returned to Mississippi and settled on plantation in Lafayette; elected to Congress, 1857–1859; resigned to take seat in Secession Convention; entered Confederate army; after war, elected professor in Mississippi University; re-elected to Congress, 1872 and 1874; elected to U. S. Senate, 1877; selected Secretary of Interior by President Cleveland, 1885; appointed a Judge of U. S. Supreme Court, 1887.

broad-minded and astute governor within its toils. In the instance of Senator Grady, the pressure became so strong that the governor was forced to establish publicly his position. This he did in a letter which reads as follows:—

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, October 20, 1883.—Hon. John Kelly—My dear Sir: It is not without hesitation that I write this. I have determined to do so, however, because I see no reason why I should not be entirely frank with you. I am anxious that Mr. Grady should not be returned to the next Senate. I do not wish to conceal the fact that my personal comfort and satisfaction are involved in this matter. But I know that good legislation, based upon a pure desire to promote the interests of the people, and the improvement of legislative methods are also deeply involved. I forbear to write in detail of the other considerations having relation to the welfare of the party and the approval to be secured by a change for the better in the character of its representatives. These things will occur to you without suggestion from me.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

No comment on this is needed, except that somebody mistook Governor Cleveland's unalterable purpose to have "good legislation" and "improvement of legislative methods" in New York city as well as elsewhere.

V.

CAMPAIGN OF 1884.

Long before the meeting of the Chicago Convention, July 8, 1884, indications pointed to Governor Cleveland as the proper Democratic nominee for President. The political situation was such as to make New York a pivotal State in the Presidential contest. His fame as an executive had gone abroad in the land. He had the prestige of unprecedented majority in his favor when he carried off the honors of Governor. He, more than any other man spoken of, was the embodiment of all the great qualities which combined in the formation of an ideal leader. He typed the instincts and sentiments of a younger Democracy who loved his independence of character, his sterling methods, his sublime mastery of circumstances. He stood for what the older Democracy most cherished, adherence to patriotic tradition, plain, common sense devotion to principle, economic and business-like execution of high official trust. There was only one ripple in the current running toward his nomination. That was occasioned by the Tammany pebble at the bottom of the stream. There the stream murmured, but ran rapidly on, its murmur a laugh.

The convention was thoroughly representative of the Democratic party. As the presiding officer, Col. William F. Vilas, said,—"The convention was the greatest and most magnificent council of freemen ever assembled on the face of God's round globe. For three days it listened to a 'profound debate from the greatest speakers in the country' upon the various candidates, and the point of order was

justly raised that it was contrary to the rules governing the convention to thus discuss the candidates, but it was unanimously voted by the convention that the freest discussion should be permitted, in order to develop all the facts obtainable. The debate of three days left no doubt in the minds of the delegates as to whom the choice of the convention should be."

It was particularly noteworthy that amid all the caucusing for rival candidates, amid the arguments educed for favorites from respective States and sections, amid the formal presentation of names to the convention, no Democratic orator of high and unquestioned standing in his party ever spoke a derogatory word of Governor Cleveland or expressed a doubt of the propriety and fitness of his nomination. It is equally noteworthy that the magic of his name was such as to hold his State delegation as a unit and turn every malignant attempt to break it into an argument and inspiration in his behalf.

At 3.55 P. M. of July 9, 1884, Mr. Lockwood, New York, took the platform to place in nomination the name of Grover Cleveland. He did this in an eloquent speech, in which he said:—

"The responsibility which he felt was made greater when he remembered that the richest pages of American history had been made up from the records of Democratic administrations, and remembered that the outrage of 1876 was still unavenged. No man had a greater respect than he for the honored names presented to the convention, but the world was moving, and new men, who had participated but little in politics, were coming to the front. Three years ago he had the honor in the city of Buffalo to present the name of the same gentleman for the office of Mayor. Without hesitation the name of Grover Cleveland had been accepted as the candidate. [Applause in the galleries and delegations.]

"The result of that election and of the holding of that office was that in less than nine months the State of New York found itself in a position to want such a candidate, and when in the Convention of 1882 his name was presented for the office of Governor of the State of New York the same class of people knew that that meant honest government; that it meant pure government; that it meant Democratic government, and it was ratified. Now the State of New York came and asked that there be given to the Independent and Democratic voters of the country—the young men of the country, the new blood of the country—the name of Grover Cleveland."

The nomination was eloquently seconded by Harrison of Illinois and Jones of Minnesota.

The first ballot was had on the night of the 10th. The friends of Governor Cleveland had computed his strength at 397 votes. Their count proved to be exceedingly close, for as the ballot showed he commanded 392 votes. His opponents were such illustrious men as Thomas F. Bayard, Joseph E. McDonald, John G. Carlisle, Allen G. Thurman, Samuel J. Randall, George E. Hoadley and George A. Hendricks.

On the second ballot he easily forged ahead of all opponents and obtained 683 votes out of a total of 820, with 547 to nominate. The motion to make his nomination unanimous was carried without dissent. The news of Governor Cleveland's nomination was received with demonstrations of delight by the Democratic party and by the independent element of the Republican party. Party newspapers in general spoke of it as a hopeful and proper political step. Large ratification meetings were improvised in city and village, at which great enthusiasm prevailed, and from which proceeded hearty endorsement of the convention's action. What is known as the independent, or bolting Republican

HON. WILLIAM C. WHITNEY.

Born in Conway, Mass., July 15, 1841; graduated at Yale, 1863; graduated at Harvard Law School, 1865; continued study of law in New York city and admitted to bar there; prominent member of Young Men's Democratic Club; conspicuous for activity against "Tweed Ring;" Inspector City Schools, 1872; candidate of Reformed Democracy for District Attorney and defeated; appointed Corporation Counsel for New York city, 1876–80; reputed to have saved the city large sums by resisting fraudulent claims; resigned office, 1882; appointed Secretary of Navy by President Cleveland, March 5, 1885; received degree of LL. D. from Yale, 1888; advocate of a new navy, and made this a conspicuous feature of his administration.

press, was, if anything, more encomiastic than the regular Democratic press.

Papers like the New York *Times*, the *Evening Post*, *Harper's Weekly* and Philadelphia *Ledger* echoed the following sentiment, copied from the last named:

"Governor Cleveland has shown through the whole of his life, private and public, from boyhood to his present distinction, that he has the sterling qualities befitting the exalted office of Chief Executive of the United States. It is the highest function of that office to administer the laws with an eye single to the public welfare. Our Government has been tersely described as 'of the people, by the people, and for the people.' No eminent public man has exhibited a better understanding of that definition of the American government than Grover Cleveland; none has exemplified it better than he has in his performance of public duty, and but few, very few indeed, have exemplified it so well. His guiding characteristics have been loyalty to duty, courage in the discharge of it, and the best and most faithful performance of it within his power. These are strong words; strong because they are true."

Governor Cleveland received the news of his nomination with entire equanimity. He had not shown himself ambitious of the honors, had done nothing directly to secure them. They came as a free-will offering, and by virtue of a record made in the path of duty. He would not have been disappointed had the Convention in its wisdom seen fit to similarly honor some one else. Yet he did not shirk the responsibilities which he knew were inseparable from candidacy, nor fail to announce himself as gratified with his political preference.

The nomination of Governor Cleveland for the Presidency was fittingly followed in Convention by the nomination of that sterling old Democrat, Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indi-

ana, for the Vice-Presidency. These two made a ticket which proved a source of inspiration to the party. Even if it at first failed to awaken the enthusiasm provoked by the Republican leaders, Blaine and Logan, it had better staying powers. Geographically it was a tower of strength, for Mr. Cleveland represented the fighting-ground in the East, while Mr. Hendricks represented it in the West. Both candidates were thus at an advantage which it would require more than personal magnetism and campaign clatter on the part of opponents to overcome.

The Convention backed up these able candidates with an admirable platform, and the campaign of 1884 was duly opened. Cleveland and Hendricks had not only to contend with the Republican nominees, who were both strong and brilliant campaignists, backed by a party which had won victories for twenty-four years and with all the patronage of the government in its control, but with that veteran campaignist, B. F. Butler, who headed the Labor ticket, and St. John, who headed the Prohibitionists. The campaign at first took a vicious, personal turn, but this diversion soon spent its force and the more serious questions involved came to the surface. At this point Cleveland's reform record in New York came mightily to his aid. His career had been brief, to be sure, but it had also been one of consistency and persistency, and admiration for it proved a wall which could not be shaken by the enemy's batteries. He held his party throughout one of the most heated campaigns known to American history, and his strength was constantly augmented by accessions from the Republican ranks, all of whom claimed to see in him the embodiment of the reform spirit which seemed to be abroad in the land. In the very last stages of what every political observer felt to be a desperate battle, when the scales of victory were

tipping now this way and now that, the Republican candidate tried the effect of his powerful personalism directly on New York State, to which the contest had, by common consent, narrowed. It is not worth while to inquire how much this attempt was worth, nor whether it lost or won the battle. Speculation is out of place in the face of figures. The official returns of New York showed a plurality of 1,047 votes for Cleveland and Hendricks, which assured them twenty out of the thirty-eight States, a majority of thirty-seven votes in the electoral college and a popular vote of 4,911,017, as against 4,848,334 for Blaine and Logan.

It thus passed to the credit of Grover Cleveland that he headed the ticket which won the first Presidential victory for his party in twenty-four years, and that, too, against the one man whom the Republican party claimed to be invincible. Not only this, the victory was a political revolution which even enthusiasts of his own party thought to be impossible a few months before, so strongly were the Republicans entrenched in power and so skilful were they in party manipulation.

But while the national election brought to Cleveland, Hendricks and the Democratic party a great victory, it brought also a responsibility which the party had never before been called upon to meet, for not only parties, but the nation had made great strides forward since the days of President Buchanan. How would the new President and Vice-President meet this responsibility? Would they prove safe guardians of the greatest and gravest public trust in the world? Would they honor themselves, their party, the people at large, our American institutions? Unfortunately, the Vice-President did not live long enough (he died November 25, 1885) to contribute much by counsel to the

success of the administration, of which he was an honored part. But, fortunately, the elections of the year 1884 gave to the lower house of Congress a majority of Democrats. The new President could find in this fact a source of encouragement. With or without these, however, he would move boldly and confidently forward in the line of duty, as he had moved before, and trust to the honest sentiment of his countrymen for appreciative support.

HON. A. H. GARLAND.

Born in Tipton co., Tenn., June 11, 1832; moved to Arkansas when young; educated at St. Mary's College, Ky., and St. Joseph's College, Ky.; admitted to Arkansas bar, 1853; moved to Little Rock, 1856; a Bell-Everett elector, 1860; opposed Secession, but went with his State; a delegate to First Confederate Congress; elected to Confederate Senate; admitted to practice in U. S. Supreme Court without taking "oath of allegiance," 1867; elected to U. S. Senate, 1867, but seat refused; elected Governor of Arkansas, as Democrat, 1874; elected to U. S. Senate, 1876, and re-elected in 1882; appointed Attorney General by President Cleveland, March 5, 1885.

VII.

CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

FORTY-NINTH AND FIFTIETH CONGRESSES.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND was inaugurated on March 4, 1885, amid ceremonies which were truly national. The throng of visitors at the National Capitol was estimated at half a million. Inauguration day was auspicious in its spring-like brightness and balm. Flags floated from all the public buildings and the spacious avenues were gay with decorations. The procession was the largest of a civic nature that had ever passed over Pennsylvania avenue, and the military escort, made up of battalions from the various States, was exceeded only by the great reviews which took place at the close of the Civil War in 1865. The objective point was first the Senate Chamber and then the grand plaza in front of the Capitol, where 200,000 people awaited the inaugural. As soon as silence could be commanded President Cleveland delivered his inaugural in such a rich, clear voice that it was heard by nearly all in that vast assemblage. When he had finished he turned to Chief-Justice Waite and said: "I am now ready to take the oath prescribed by law." The Chief-Justice held in his hand a small Bible which had been given to Mr. Cleveland by his mother when he had started to seek his fortune in the world. Placing his right hand on this he received the oath of office and then kissed the sacred

book, his lips touching verses 5–10, inclusive, of the 112th Psalm.

Then those on the platform congratulated the President, the multitude made the welkin ring with cheers, a hundred bands played "Hail to the Chief," and the cannon at the navy yard and arsenal thundered forth the "Presidential salute." The procession re-formed, with President Cleveland at its head. It marched to the White House, where the President took the grand stand and reviewed the immense procession as it passed by for three long hours. In the evening came fireworks and the inauguration ball, participated in by 10,000 people. This was regarded as a fitting close to the brilliant ceremonies of the day.

In the President's brief and chaste inaugural he pledged himself and his administration to a close observance of the Constitution and laws; to peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations and entangling alliances with none; to care for the public domain and fair treatment of the Indians; to rigid enforcement of the laws against polygamy and the immigration of foreign servile classes; to strict execution of the civil service laws on the principle announced in his letter of acceptance, that public office is a public trust; to limitation of public expenditure to actual needs of government. The document was a plain statement of the President's views, and was satisfying in every respect. It gave promise that he would launch his administration on broad and safe waters, and would not dare that which was entirely novel, brilliant and startling. He preferred to be reposeful rather than dashing, sure of his ground rather than take chances in a sudden rush for notoriety over surfaces which had not been surveyed and mapped by political pioneers.

During his first months in office President Cleveland pro-

ceeded quietly and cautiously toward the adoption of a policy and purpose. He examined every situation with care, and perhaps gave closer personal attention to routine work than any predecessor in the high office. He was young, vigorous in mind and body and a lover of detail. He had surrounded himself with the following admirable Cabinet, which was regarded as happily chosen and thoroughly representative of the best interests of his party and the country at large:

Secretary of State	Thomas F. Bayard, Del.
Secretary of Treasury	Daniel Manning, N. Y.
Secretary of War	Wm. C. Endicott, Mass.
Secretary of Navy	Wm. C. Whitney, N. Y.
Secretary of Interior	L. Q. C. Lamar, Miss.
Attorney-General	Aug. H. Garland, Ark.
Postmaster-General	Wm. F. Vilas, Wis.

This was a body of counsellors in which any administration might place the utmost confidence. He was no less fortunate in having for his private secretary Colonel Daniel S. Lamont, who had served him faithfully in that capacity when he was Governor and who had such a comprehensive knowledge of public men and political life as is vouchsafed to few. The possessor of great personal urbanity, always clear-headed, very reticent, especially concerning executive affairs, he was emphatically the "right man in the right place."

From the date of inauguration to the opening of the Forty-ninth Congress, Dec. 7, 1885, the administration of President Cleveland moved smoothly and satisfactorily along. His message to that Congress was waited for with anxiety by the country, as his first opportunity for presenting in detail a plan of administration. The document proved to be a lengthy but very worthy State paper, embracing in the

main three distinct points—the silver question, the tariff and civil service, with brief discussion of the Indian problem, commercial treaties, Mormonism, the navy, and other current subjects. He disapproved of further coinage of the Bland dollar, advised conservative action respecting the tariff, gave much dignified and courageous advice relative to civil service. The nation was pleased with such outline of administration as the message promised, and it was especially lauded by the independent Republicans who had supported him for office.

He found in the House a Democratic majority which was in thorough accord with him, and many special champions in the Senate. However smoothly a new administration may run while the Congress is not in session, it cannot expect to escape criticism and antagonism when brought into close contact with the legislative body of the land, especially if all, or a part of it, be of the opposition. The Senate was Republican, and its first duty was to pass on the numerous nominations of the President. A hitch occurred almost at the start, when the Senate asked for sight of the recommendations on which the President had based some of his important appointments, and also of papers on which he had based his removals. He regarded them as personal papers, and the Attorney-General sustained his refusal to show them. The Senate took an opposite view, but the affair was so adjusted as not to interfere greatly with the serenity of either the President or Senators.

The first session of the Forty-ninth Congress lasted till Aug. 5, 1886. It accomplished but little to affect the country or the status of parties. Looked in upon critically, the administration of President Cleveland had thus far been plain, straightforward and unmomentous. Peace and prosperity reigned, and the political revolution of 1884 had

brought none of the disasters so freely prophesied by croakers. It was to some extent true that Mr. Cleveland's own party had not profited as much as it desired from his administration. But he could well afford to face this situation, for the utmost that could be laid to his discredit was the exercise of prudence in changing from one set of office-holders to another, and the bringing to bear severe discrimination in making up his mind as to the qualifications of those who should represent him. If the resolve to have a safe administration did not suit a few hot-heads who would have overturned everything and brought disgrace on the party, he was not greatly disturbed about it, but went on his cautious way, sure of the fact that the end would vindicate his procedure.

The second session of the Forty-ninth Congress, which met Dec. 6, 1886, gave the President another opportunity to present his views to the country in an annual message. The interim had been signalized by nothing of political moment except a more pronounced desire on the part of Democrats who favored tariff revision to accomplish something in that direction during the pending session. The Congressional elections had been held and, from whatever cause, there had been a diminution of the Democratic majority in the House. President Cleveland delivered a message which was much more vigorous and pointed than his former one. In it he urged upon his party the necessity for taking a decided step in favor of tariff revision, and a reduction of the surplus. He was as emphatic as before in his objections to compulsory coinage, and the longer continuance of internal taxes. He had been harshly criticised by his opponents for numerous vetoes of bills conferring pensions in exceptional cases. These vetoes he ably defended, because the class of legislation against which they were aimed was one which

was dangerous in principle and calculated to open the doors to extravagance and corruption. The message evinced a determination on the President's part to secure, in so far as he could, a greater amount of legislation than the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress had given to the country. He was now well grounded in popular regard, had a full understanding of national and party wants, and felt that he could afford to make his advice emphatic. The result was that at this short session the Congress did an immense amount of work, and settled many pressing questions. The Anti-Polygamy act was passed; one redeeming Trade Dollars; regulating the Electoral Count, and repealing the Tenure of Office law. But for the fact that the Democrats in the House were divided on the questions of tariff revision, internal taxation, and reduction of the surplus in the treasury, all the important measures urged in his message would have been enacted into laws, and their beneficial results given to the country.

Thus ended the first two years of President Cleveland's administration. He had been singularly successful in reconciling the country to the political change which came about with the advent of his party to power. Antagonisms had been avoided by a wise use of his functions. He had made no foolish haste, had done everything conscientiously and for the best, had met on every hand the expectations of those who contributed to his election. Better than all he had not lost the best wishes of his political opponents to see him successful in his administration of national affairs. At times it was felt on all sides that he was bigger, braver, and more advanced than his party, and that this would, in the end, prove a greater source of danger to his success than attacks from without. But he had the sagacity to ward off all harm in this direction by choosing his ground

well, taking bold and firm stands without appearing to be arbitrary or dictatorial, and then patiently waiting for the sober, second thought of his followers. He thus grew upon them, as it were, and without any spirit of assumption or attempt at cross-purposes, came to be recognized as one abundantly worthy of entire confidence and admirably equipped for safe and victorious leadership.

As party lines began to shape up for the contest of 1888, President Cleveland's administration naturally passed under closer scrutiny by his political opponents. He could hardly expect to escape that small, invidious criticism which every trifling official error and every slight departure from the usual course of things are too apt to provoke in this country, and which is none to the credit of our newsmongers and partisan writers. Thus his veto of what was known as the Dependent Pension Bill, though based on grounds which every impartial man will, almost at a glance, regard as tenable, was heralded as evidence of his opposition to the soldier element. This was both unfair and unjust, and it did not take long for the better second thought of the country to come to the President's vindication. There was another outburst of the same sentiment when the order to "return the rebel flags" was issued. But when it appeared that the order was really that of a subordinate, and that it was countermanded by the President as soon as its true nature became known, full credit was given to him for rectitude of intention.

But with all these annoyances there was a broader and fairer field of criticism to encounter. This he did not fear; this, indeed, he would invite, in so far as a perfectly straight and fearless course proved an invitation. Aggressiveness was never a part of President Cleveland's organization, yet he was not a man to stand still. He saw the political situa-

tion of 1884 as plainly as any man could. The things which contributed to his own and Democratic success in that year—the mistrust of the party in power, the personal antagonism to its candidate, the general desire for political change—could not contribute to the same end again. Party success a second time must depend on a record made, on something done, on confidence inspired, on a grand affirmative position to be stoutly maintained. How could this standpoint be reached? Clearly not by the reposeful, negative methods which were so well adapted to the first two years of his administration. There must be a change, more action, for, as the legend on the ruins of Dendera hath it, "action is life." It was to this end that he almost scolded the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress for its inertness during the first and long session—the session of opportunity. He would not scold, or urge, or plead again, but, as was justly his place, he would present a clear issue, would father a central thought, would ask his party and the nation to take something definite in hand for its own good.

In writing the life of President Cleveland it is not necessary to go into an analysis of parties. It is sufficiently understood that the doctrine of Protection is fostered by the Republican party through and by means of the tariff laws, and that such doctrine has become cardinal with the party. It is just as well understood that the Democratic party has never accepted this doctrine in its entirety, but has acquiesced in it as a means of raising revenue when necessary, and has always claimed that, the necessity passed, the tariff laws should be revised, and tariff rates reduced, the same as with any other tax laws. In the opinion of many Democratic leaders of thought, which opinion Mr. Cleveland shared, the excess of income over expenditures, and the accumulation of an unnecessary surplus of public money in the

HON. WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT.

Born in Salem, Mass., November 26, 1826; educated in Salem schools and graduated from Harvard, 1847; studied law and admitted to Essex County Bar; practiced profession to 1873, in firm of Perry & Endicott; appointed, 1873, by Governor of State, to Judgeship on Supreme Bench of Massachusetts; continued on bench till 1882, when he resigned his commission; appointed Secretary of War by President Cleveland, March, 1885, and remained in office till 1889; resumed practice of law, and continues to date; recognized as an able jurist and excellent statesman.

national treasury, afforded an excellent argument and made the time propitious for declaring a policy which looked toward both tariff and internal tax reduction, and which should at the same time answer for a more definite declaration of party principles than had been the custom in National Conventions and platforms. While the desire to do this had long existed on the part of many prominent Democrats, no one seemed bold enough, or felt himself sufficiently strong as a leader, to take such an initiative as would impress the people. There was a small but resolute faction within the party which antagonized any such step, and remained as firmly attached to the Protection school of thought as the Republicans themselves. They were chiefly responsible for the failure of tariff legislation in the Forty-ninth Congress, and were still more hostile in the Fiftieth Congress. Mr. Cleveland had, of course, fully discounted their strength before he concluded on his step forward. He felt also, no doubt, that he, of all men, was the one to place himself in the van of what bade fair to be the most important political movement since the civil war, for he was not only the most conspicuous man in the country, but the one best calculated, by reason of his sturdy character and well-established official record, to inspire confidence.

This was the logic of that situation which President Cleveland presented to the country when, on December 5, 1887, he delivered to Congress that brief message of only 4,500 words, which touched upon only that branch of finance involved in taxation, customs duties and the treasury surplus, which awakened his party as if from a long dream and which electrified the nation. It was an indication of a departure from the hesitating and shuffling methods which had so long prevailed and was equivalent to a new declaration of principles for modern Democracy, or rather to a broad

and emphatic announcement of those principles which had made statesmen of the Democratic fathers and given them repeated victories. The message was hailed by his party as a step in the right direction, and the President was made the recipient of congratulations which showed he had struck an immensely popular chord. So earnest was he in his presentation of the financial situation, and so candid and fearless in his statements respecting high and unnecessary taxation, with its dangerous concomitant of an overflowing treasury, that not even his enemies failed to applaud his utterances as the very essence of frankness and his step as Napoleonic in conception and importance. The Democratic majority in the House promptly responded to the President's advice and presented a bill which looked toward the reforms indicated in the message, and they made strenuous efforts to pass it over the Republican strength aided by a factious Democratic minority.

This heroic step on the part of President Cleveland contributed greatly to his reputation as a broad-minded thinker, and a statesman capable of seeing in advance of his time and preparing for victories on a basis which should admit of no misconstruction. But there was one thing about it which he may not have fully considered, or if so, then it should be carefully weighed by every candid mind, in order that misapprehension may not arise respecting the future which it opened to Mr. Cleveland, and also in order that the criticism which his nomination for a second term called forth from his political enemies may be met at once. The new policy of the administration placed Mr. Cleveland so clearly in the van of his party, that it would have been cowardly, if not suicidal, for him to have shrunk from the responsibility imposed, no matter what form that responsibility assumed. Thus, without intent or volition on his part, but by sheer

force of political circumstances, he found his leadership of that pronounced and momentous kind, which impelled him directly and inevitably toward a renomination by his party. There can be no doubt in the world of his sincerity, when, in his letter of acceptance in 1884, he made known his conviction that a President should not be an aspirant for a second term. His reasoning was that such ambition might lead to misuse of the power and patronage at his disposal. The reasoning was just as potential in 1886, or 1888, and there is no need for supposing that his convictions underwent change at any time. The fact that an emergency might arise, or that a changed set of conditions might come, which could not be foreseen, but which might warrant a second term for a President, was not one which he combated in his letter, nor did his reasoning apply to it. He was as much at liberty to stand for a second term, after his letter as before it, unless it became apparent that he was an ambitious seeker after the place, and was using the power and patronage in his hands to secure it. Nothing like this appeared. In shaping an administrative policy which would enure to the good and glory of his party and the country, he acted like a brave, broad-gauge statesman, and as President, or if you please, party leader, he was willing to face every storm and shoulder every responsibility. When events, political and otherwise, shaped up so as to show forth the campaign of 1888, and his position became such as to make battle doubtful without the magic of his name, the wisdom of his counsel, and the force of his presence, there arose spontaneously a situation which rendered his candidacy imperative. Instead of using effort in a personal direction, and resorting to means unworthy of a high official to bring about a desirable result, the course of events, the trend of sentiment, the uprising of feeling, were such as to carry him along,

without the asking, toward a second candidature. Always before in our political history such spontaneous results have been regarded as most fortunate for public men, and as evidence of a popular favor and confidence which speak worlds for their character and ability as officials and statesmen. And so it really was in Mr. Cleveland's case.

During the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, Mr. Cleveland reorganized his Cabinet by promoting his Secretary of Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar, to the place in the Supreme Court, made vacant by the death of Chief-Justice Waite, by transferring his Postmaster-General, William F. Vilas, to the Interior Department, by promoting Charles S. Fairchild to the Secretaryship of the Treasury, and by appointing Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan, Postmaster-General. These appointments were all acceptable to the Senate, and they were confirmed.

President Cleveland had on hand from the beginning of his administration the delicate question of the American Fisheries. The treaty of 1818, between this country and England, had never been satisfactory, and the English made several seizures of American fishing vessels in Canadian waters, contrary to our construction of the treaty. The administration took the matter in hand, and under the auspices of a commission composed of representatives from all the countries concerned, a new treaty was framed and presented to the Senate for confirmation. This action was deemed the wisest on the part of the administration, as it was least likely to provoke hard feeling, and most likely to get at the root of the troubles. It gave a happy relief to his premier, and placed the future responsibility on the Senate.

President Cleveland made reform in the Public Land System a conspicuous feature of his administration, and it is safe to say that in this respect he was the means of cor-

HON. WILLIAM F. VILAS.

Born at Chelsea, Vt., July 9, 1840; moved to Madison, Wis., 1851; graduated at State University, 1858; studied law at University of Albany, N. Y., 1860, and admitted to bars of New York and Wisconsin, Began practice at Madison, July 9, 1860; entered Union army, and mustered out as Lieutenant-Colonel of 23d Reg. Wis. Vols.; a Professor in Law Department of State University since 1868; Regent of same, 1880–85; member Board of Revision of Statutes, 1878; elected to Wisconsin Legislature, 1885; delegate to Democratic National Conventions, 1876–80–84; appointed Postmaster-General by President Cleveland, March 7, 1885; appointed Secretary of Interior, January 16, 1888; elected to United States Senate, January 28, 1891; member of Committees on Claims, Civil Service, Indian Affairs, Pensions and Quadro-Centennial.

recting one of the most vicious systems in the whole domain of government, and at the same time of saving millions to the Treasury. In the execution of laws he was energetic and persistent, and, it may be, imbued with a good deal of that philosophy which prompted President Grant to say that "the best way to secure the repeal of an obnoxious law was to enforce it to the letter."

Said a conspicuous American statesman:

"The day on which Grover Cleveland, the plain, straightforward, typical American citizen took the oath of office, marked the close of an old era and the beginning of a new one. It closed the era of usurpation of power by the Federal authority, of illegal force, of general contempt for constitutional limitations and plain law, of glaring scandals, profligate waste, and unspeakable corruption, of narrow sectionalism and class strife, of the reign of a party whose good work had long been done. It began the era of perfect peace and perfect union of the States, fused in all their sovereignty into a Federal Republic, with limited but ample powers; of a public service conducted with absolute integrity and strict economy; of reforms pushed to their extreme limit; of comprehensive, sound and safe financial policy; giving security and confidence to all enterprise and endeavor—a Democratic administration, faithful to its mighty trust, loyal to its pledges; true to the constitution, safeguarding the interests and liberties of the people. And now we stand on the edge of another era, perhaps a greater contest; with a relation to the electors that we have not held for a generation, that of responsibility for the great trust of government. We are no longer authors, but accountants; no longer critics, but the criticised. The responsibility is ours, and if we have not taken all the power

necessary to make that responsibility good the fault is ours, not that of the people.

"The administration of President Cleveland has triumphantly justified his election. It compels the respect, confidence and approval of the country. The prophets of evil and disaster are dumb. What the people see is the government of the Union restored to its ancient footing of justice, peace, honesty and impartial enforcement of the law. They see the demands of labor and agriculture met, so far as government can meet them, by the legislative enactments for their encouragement and protection. They see the veterans of the civil war granted pensions long due them to the amount of more than twice in number and nearly three times in value of those granted under any previous administration. They see more than 32,000,000 acres of land recklessly and illegally held by the grantees of the corrupt Republican regime restored to the public domain for the benefit of honest settlers. They see the negro, whose fears of Democratic rule were played upon by demagogues four years ago, not only more fully protected than by his pretended friends, but honored as his race was never honored before. They see a financial policy under which reckless speculation has practically ceased and capital freed from distrust. They see for the first time an honest observance of the law governing the civil establishment, and the employees of the people rid, at least, of the political highwaymen with a demand for tribute in one hand and a letter of dismissal in the other. They see useless offices abolished and expenses of administration reduced, while improved methods have lifted the public service to high efficiency. They see tranquility, order, security and equal justice restored in the land, a watchful, safe, steady and patriotic administration—the sol-

emn promises made by Democracy faithfully kept. It is 'an honest government by honest men.'

"Four years ago you trusted tentatively the Democratic party and supported with zeal and vigor its candidate for President. You thought him strong in all the sturdy qualities requisite for the great task of reform. No President in time of peace had so difficult and laborious a duty to perform. His party had been out of power for twenty-four years. Every member of it had been almost venomously excluded from the smallest post where administration could be studied. Every place was filled by men whose interest it was to thwart inquiry and belittle the new administration, but the master hand came to the helm, and the true course has been kept from the beginning.

"We need not wait for time to do justice to the character and services of President Cleveland. Honest, clear-sighted, patient, grounded in respect for law and justice; with a thorough grasp of principles and situations; with marvellous and conscientious industry; the very incarnation of firmness—he has nobly fulfilled the promise of his party, nobly met the expectations of his country and written his name high on the scroll where future Americans will read the names of men who have been supremely useful to the Republic."

President Cleveland carried into the White House the strong physique, the habits of industry, the attention to details that had characterized his previous life. As the labors were more telling he began to find a necessity for exercise in the recreation of riding, and he rode much on horseback. He still possessed that gentle but firm strength of official demeanor, that modesty of deportment and indifference to popular clamor, that affability of spirit and willing receptivity where interested, which impressed all with the

thought personally and politically he meant to do the right. In general appearance he grew impressive with age, experience and dignity. His large head, broad forehead, deeply set blue eyes, conspicuous nose, vigorous nostrils, firm mouth, and heavy moustache, typed one born to command. His closely buttoned coat, slight, dark neck-tie and immaculate collar and bosom, showed that he was not indifferent to the laws of style in dress. In receiving, or in conversation, he poised with his hands behind him, but in thought his hands came to the front and, not infrequently, one to his head. His order of public life and domestic affair was rigidly observed. He rose at regular hours, made his toilet by rule, appeared at his desk at a certain hour for attention to his correspondence. He was promptly on hand at the hour for the reception of visitors, heard with easy grace and patience the claims of all, had a kind word or pleasant hand-shake for the thousands whose mission was that of compliment or curiosity. After luncheon he returned to his desk and worked so long as work was found to do. No predecessor ever weighed the claims and qualifications of candidates for place with greater care. He carefully pondered all recommendations, and made his appointments only after the fullest consideration of the merits of rival applicants.

He had the happy faculty of dispossessing himself of the cares of State at bed-time, and of settling daily the work of each day. For nearly two years of his administration the domestic affairs of the White House were presided over by his sister, Miss Rose Elizabeth Cleveland. But the monotony of bachelorhood was soon to be broken by his marriage, an event which created a sensation in the fashionable world and greatly contributed to the social atmosphere of the Presidential Mansion. President Cleveland was married at the White House at seven P. M. on June 2, 1886, to

HON. DAVID B. HILL.

Born in Chemung co., N. Y., August 29, 1843; graduated at Havanna Academy; admitted to Elmira bar, November, 1864, and appointed City Attorney; member of State Assembly, 1871–72; President of Democratic State Conventions, 1877, 1881; elected Mayor of Elmira, 1882; President of New York Bar Association, 1886–87; elected Lieutenant-Governor of New York, November, 1882; succeeded Grover Cleveland as Governor, January, 1885; elected Governor, November, 1885, on Democratic ticket; re-elected Governor, 1888; elected to United States Senate, as Democrat, 1891; a distinguished party organizer and leader; name much discussed in connection with the Presidency.

Miss Frances Folsom, daughter of his former law partner. Though this was the eighth marriage within the walls of the White House, it was the first in which a President of the United States participated as a bridegroom. It was a plain ceremony, after the Presbyterian form, with the Marine Band to play the wedding march and the President's salute from the guns of the Navy Yard to notify the world that the vows had been finally sealed. This marriage introduced into the executive mansion and to public life one of the most charming ladies of the land. She bore all her blushing honors meekly and contributed greatly to the sociability, vivacity and elegance of the White House establishment. On Oct. 4, 1891, she became the mother of a daughter, Ruth Cleveland. The summer home of Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland is at "Gray Gables," a beautiful villa surrounded by 100 acres of land, lying upon the shores of Buzzard's Bay.

VII.

CONVENTION AND CAMPAIGN OF 1888.

The Democrats met in National Convention, pursuant to call, at St. Louis, June 5, 1888. The high position taken by President Cleveland in his celebrated message of Dec. 5, 1887, delivered to the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, supplemented by the Mills Bill favoring tariff reduction, pointed to the way to his renomination.

When Convention day dawned, and the great Democratic party sat in National Council, when an outlook of the situation was had after a comparison of political views, when grave men had deliberated and arrived at the mature judgment as to what was best for party success and the triumph of immutable principles, there was more than ever one voice in favor of the renomination of President Cleveland. All private likes and dislikes were merged in the common thought that he was the man best calculated by experience, by towering ability as leader, by impregnable record to bear the party standard through the campaign battles of 1888. No other name was mentioned in Convention, in connection with the Presidency, and when his was mentioned it always awakened an enthusiasm which found vent in vociferous and prolonged cheers.

For President Cleveland, the St. Louis Convention was both endorsement and ovation. It ratified nearly four years of administrative work, and pledged a continuance of confidence and support. That public career which, in 1884, had been limited by State lines, was, at St. Louis, bounded by

the horizon of every civilized country. In 1884 he was pledged to his country by his party for what he gave promise as President to be. In 1888 no such formal pledge was needed, for as one of the orators in the convention put it, "He had not only won the applause of his countrymen, but the plaudit of the civilized world of 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.'"

When State after State had risen in that grandly representative convention to shower on the President its eulogies and pledge him anew its support, the climax was reached at the call of Kentucky, whose spokesman, McKenzie, closed his eloquent tribute to Mr. Cleveland's greatness by saying:—

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I move to suspend the rules and make the nomination of Grover Cleveland for President of the United States absolutely unanimous."

This was the last step of that superb movement which crowned President Cleveland with the honors of a second nomination. There was no ballot, no contest, no dissent. The convention rose as a unit, and as a personation of a sentiment which was all pervading, and with a voice which made the immense spaces of Musical Hall ring, acclaimed him the candidate of the Democratic party for 1888. It was a tribute such as is seldom paid to mortal man. That spontaneous accord, that emphatic pronouncement, contained something higher than the honors of office, something fuller of meaning than a crown. It measured not only the estimation in which the man was held, but it showed the heartfelt gratitude of a party whose destiny he had held sacredly in his keeping through its first period of triumph in twenty-four years. It was a ratification of the past, and a tender for the future, not of a man in the shape

of a promise, as in 1884, but as a happy and splendid realization.

In recognition of the older element of the party, Mr. Cleveland's nomination was supplemented by that of Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, for Vice-President. The platform reaffirmed that of 1884; indorsed the views of President Cleveland in his message of December 5, 1887, and also the efforts of Democratic Congressmen to secure the reduction of excessive taxation; expressed party faith in the maintenance of a Union of free and indestructible States; challenged investigation of administrative methods; claimed a wise dispensation of the public land system; asked for recognition of the fact that the administration had paid out more than any other for pensions and bounties to soldiers and sailors; claimed to have set on foot the reconstruction of the American navy, the adoption of a prudent foreign policy, the exclusion of Chinese laborers, and honest reform in the Civil Service; declared against tax laws and trusts; proclaimed the necessity for free revision of all laws tending to the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury.

The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Oliver P. Morton, of New York. The campaign was largely one of discussion and free from the bitter personalism which had characterized that of 1884. The purity and strength of President Cleveland's administration was admitted on all sides, but never were party lines drawn closer than on the issue courted in his message of 1887. In that message he had been bold and frank enough to create an issue for his party upon which it could go confidently before the country. At an early day in the campaign it was seen that the fighting ground was narrowed to the doubtful States of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Indiana. In these States both parties concentrated

their best efforts. Each sought by speech, procession and spectacular performance, to convince the public of the rectitude of its views. The early autumn elections in Maine, Oregon and Vermont showed a trend of sentiment decidedly against the Democratic position. The November result showed that this trend was real. Harrison carried all the States which Blaine had carried in 1884, and added the two States of Indiana and New York, thus securing 233 out of the 401 electoral votes, or a majority of 31.

The confidence of both parties remained supreme till the very last. An unusual episode of the campaign was the dismissal of the English Minister, Lord Sackville West, for unwarranted interference with our political affairs. The result of the election was so decisive as to be cheerfully acquiesced in by Mr. Cleveland and his party.

Notwithstanding his defeat, President Cleveland rounded out his administration with one of his longest and ablest messages to the Second Session of the 50th Congress, in which he was firmly adhesive to his doctrine of "Tariff Reform," and presaged for it a triumph at no distant day. He had the courage of his convictions, even in the hour of disaster, and had his professed friends remained as steadfast as he when the battle was on the result might have been different. It is not for us to introduce controversy into a life of a distinguished and pure-minded citizen and official, but it was a fairly debatable question as to whether Mr. Cleveland received the full measure of Democratic support from his friends in New York State. The charge has been made and with no little plausibility, that a factional element at home stabbed him in the back, and color is given to the charge by the fact that New York elected a Democratic Governor of the machine type at the very moment it defeated a Democratic candidate for President, who stood for pure politics and the highest party principles.

VIII.

IN PRIVATE LIFE.

President Cleveland retired from office with the distinction of having been the only Democratic President since 1856. He had upheld the traditions and promises of his party with a faithfulness that gave him rank with the Jeffersons and Jacksons of the long ago. He had evinced a spirit of originality and determination which often disappointed those who believed in machinery methods, but in every such instance he took a deeper hold on the masses. He was true to the axiom that "a public office is a public trust," and no one ever did more to carry the axiom home to the popular heart.

There was no sighing on his part over his defeat, no reluctance in his retiracy. None other could have changed the result. He had glorious achievements to his credit and could wait till the dawn of an era of appreciation. He had his profession to fall back upon, and he entered civic pursuit in connection with one of the most prosperous law firms of New York city. His services here soon came to be highly appreciated and his name became coupled with many celebrated cases, some of which found their way into the Supreme Court of the United States.

Retiracy from public life did not mean loss of interest in affairs appertaining to the welfare of his fellow-men. He was constantly consulted by public bodies, and invited by educational and charitable organizations. Many of his letters of reply found their way into print, and they all

evinced the same broad view, the same candor and earnestness of sentiment that had made him a popular favorite when in official position.

When occasion called for a public expression of his views on the much mooted question of "free and unlimited coinage of silver," in 1891, he did not hesitate to write an elaborate letter, in which he took distinctive ground against a system which invalidated our silver dollar, and taxed the power of our gold reserve to carry it.

The letter was dated Feb. 10, 1891, and was his reply to a request to address a meeting of business men in New York City, called for Feb. 11, for the purpose of voicing opposition to the free silver legislation then pending in Congress. It read as follows:—

E. Ellery Anderson, Esq.

My Dear Sir:—I have this afternoon received your note inviting me to attend to-morrow evening a meeting called for the purpose of voicing the opposition of the business men of our city to "free coinage of silver in the United States." I shall not be able to attend and address the meeting as you request, but I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard on the subject. It surely cannot be necessary for me to make a formal expression of my agreement with those who believe that the greatest perils would be invited by the adoption of the scheme embraced in the measure now pending in Congress for an unlimited coinage of silver at our mints.

If we have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume of the currency, and even if we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase, these conditions fall far short of insuring us against disaster if in the present situation we enter upon the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited and independent silver coinage. Yours very truly,

Grover Cleveland.

Feb. 10, 1891.

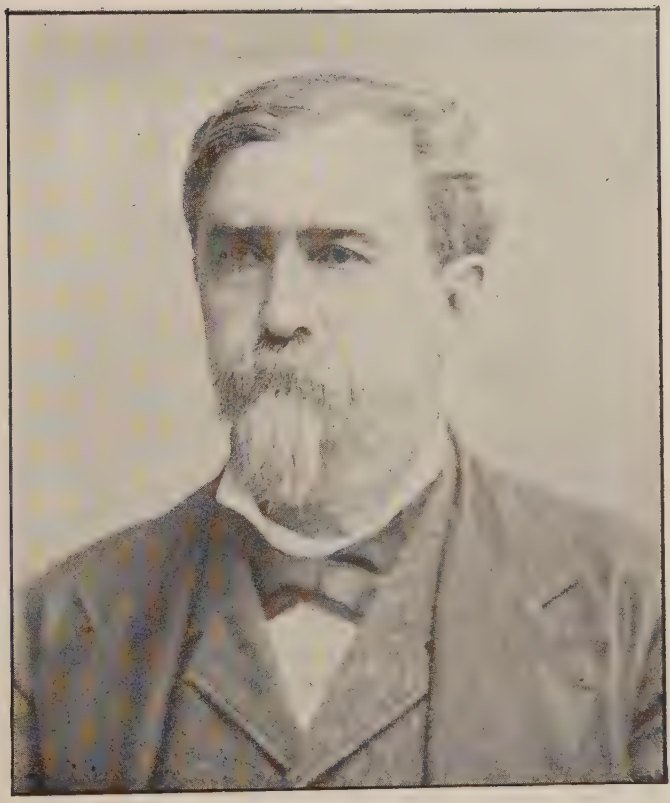
His views were accepted by the financial world as sound in every particular, and there is no doubt that his timely and forceful expression of them contributed largely to the demand for his renomination at Chicago; at least, to that measure of confidence which the vital interests of the country expect to repose in those who are called to preside over its affairs.

Mr. Cleveland, in private life, has not been unmindful of its rational enjoyment. He has had a rural retreat in New Jersey, for the delight and health of his family. He has provided a still more beautiful and permanent summer retreat on Buzzard's Bay, which he calls "Gray Gables" and where he enjoys the delights of fishing and driving. He has jaunted it to remote parts, intermingling with party friends, studying public sentiment, and broadening his views of men and localities. In his summer home on the outer coasts of the Atlantic he has found congenial society among authors and men of genius, and that rest and recreation which is beneficial to himself and family. In this he is philosophic. The hurly-burly has few charms for him, the quietude of the beach many. As a student of affairs, he prefers to look in on the mighty surge of events. His view is thus unimpassioned, his judgment unclouded.

A correspondent thus sketches Mr. Cleveland's home and home life:—

"Gray Gables, by the road, is four miles from the telegraph office; as the birds fly it is less than two. In this case we shall have to reckon by the road, as the birds are not carrying dispatches this year.

"Buzzard's Bay, as those who have travelled over the Old Colony Road to the Cape or the Vineyard know, is quite an important railroad junction. It is a village of the town of Bourne. The population of the village, which clusters



HON. DANIEL W. VOORHEES.

Born in Butler co., Ohio, September 26, 1827; moved in infancy with parents to Indiana; graduated at Indiana Asbury, 1849; studied law and began practice, 1851; United States District Attorney for Indiana, 1858–61; elected to 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st and 42d Congresses; appointed Senator to fill vacancy caused by death of O. P. Morton, November 12, 1877; distinguished as advocate of greenback currency and free silver coinage; elected to Senate, 1879; re-elected, 1885 and in 1891; eminent as leader and exponent of Democracy; member of Committees on Finance, Immigration, Library, and Chairman of Committee to provide additional accommodations for Library of Congress.

about the station, is not large. The inhabitants will not exceed 300 or 400.

"To reach Gray Gables from the railroad station it is necessary to first travel a mile and a half in the opposite direction. The reason for the detour is there is no highway bridge across the Monument River, which flows through the village on its way to Buzzard's Bay, and which it is necessary to cross in order to reach Mr. Cleveland's residence.

"The Cleveland residence is situated at the mouth of Monument River, and it has water on three sides of it.

"Mr. Cleveland is very well pleased with his property. He does not get over to the village often, but Mrs. Cleveland comes over nearly every day; sometimes twice in a day. Her carriage goes regularly to the post-office, and it stops at the modest little stores, too. She does not fail to do her part toward supporting the institutions of the place.

"One hears reports of her here similar to those which have come a thousand times from other places where she has lived. Her beauty, affability, courtesy, and general goodness are praised by every tongue. She's what I call one of God's own women."

It was in the midst of such a life that he maintained his hold on the affections of his party. At no moment after his retiracy did he lose his identity or cease to be a party idol. Let come what would, let who might connive and aspire, the question of his availability as a Presidential Candidate in 1892 never came into doubt. With him the verdict of 1888 was never regarded as final. There was no other exponent of the views which were then clouded with defeat, but which burst into victory in 1890. 1888, with what happened afterwards, was a drawn battle; 1892 was necessary, under the same sterling leadership, to test finally the issue so ably, forcibly and directly propounded in the message of 1887.

IX.

CHICAGO AND RENOMINATION.

The Democratic National Convention of 1892 met at Chicago, pursuant to the call of the National Committee, on June 21, 1892. For months prior to the meeting of the Convention the quiet sentiment of the masses of the party had been cohering about Mr. Cleveland. He was no aspirant for nomination, and was doing nothing to elicit popular favor or to control State Conventions.

So unwilling was he to appear to be pushing his candidacy, that on April 8, 1892, he wrote the following to a friend in Chattanooga, touching the question of his own renomination:—

Lakewood, N. J., April 8, 1892.

My Dear Sir: I desire to thank you for the report of the meeting at Chattanooga, which you so kindly sent me, and for the friendly words you spoke of me on that occasion. I am exceedingly anxious to have our party do exactly the right thing at the Chicago Convention, and I hope that the delegates will be guarded by judgment and actuated by true Democratic spirit and the single desire to succeed on principle.

I should not be frank if I did not say to you that I often fear I do not deserve all the kind things such friends as you say of me, and I have frequent misgivings as to the wisdom of again putting me in nomination. I therefore am anxious that sentiment and too unmeasured personal devotion should be checked when the delegates to the convention reach the period of deliberation. In any event there will be no disappointment for me in the result. Yours very truly,

Grover Cleveland.

But there was a magic about his name which seemed to touch the hearts of the people, and to act as a spell in his behalf, so that in every minor convention resolutions directly in his favor as a candidate, or paying him the highest respect, were the order of the hour.

This all pervasive and general popularity led to the thought that a nomination by acclamation would be almost a sure result at Chicago. But the discipline of a Convention requires something more than mere acclaim to insure results. It was found that in order to arrive at his nomination his forces must be marshalled and led. Many willing leaders rose to assume this task.

The necessity for brave, discreet leadership became all the more imperative by reason of what had transpired in New York State, where Senator Hill had announced his own candidacy, and had called an early State Convention which selected delegates to the National Convention, pledged to his support. This hasty action gave rise to a counter-movement, of a popular nature, designed to show where the sentiment of the masses of the party in New York really lay. While it did not result in an opposing delegation at Chicago, it served to subtract from the efficacy of the solid Hill forces and to reduce them to the plane of simple manipulators of a serious situation.

As soon as the Convention air was sufficiently clarified for an alignment of forces it became manifest that nothing could shake the strength which clustered about the Cleveland standards. It was spontaneous, enthusiastic, resolved. True it had lost points in the Committee rooms, and had even surrendered to an adverse temporary chairman of the Convention, but in this it had not lost confidence, and perhaps had shown wisdom.

The Convention was called to order at 12.45 of June 21,

by Senator Brice, Chairman of the National Committee. He announced the temporary organization and placed the gavel in the hands of Hon. Wm. C. Owens, of Kentucky, who accepted the honor in an eloquent address. The appointment of the usual committees followed and the public work of the day was practically over.

The session of the 22d was destined to be lengthy. The reports of committees were in order, and that upon the platform—especially the tariff clause—gave rise to discussion. The Convention passed into the hands of the permanent organization, and the chairman became the Hon. Wm. L. Wilson, of West Virginia, who accepted in an excellent speech. And the night session was to be still more lengthy. As it passed along it became manifest that the friends of Mr. Cleveland were in a mood to force a ballot before adjournment. There was no excuse for further delay, their forces were well in hand and most enthusiastic, postponement of decisive action might prove a loss of well-ascertained advantage. The prime rules of generalship required a show of hands at that precise juncture.

A motion was carried to call the roll of States for nominations. The names of Senator David B. Hill, of New York, and Governor Horace Boies, of Iowa, were placed in nomination, during the evening, with eloquent speeches and amid much applause. But the applause of the time and the eloquence of the occasion seemed reserved for the nomination of Cleveland. Arkansas yielded to New Jersey, when her name was called, and Governor Leon Abbett of the latter State rose to present Mr. Cleveland's name to the Convention. He arose amid deafening cheers and thus spoke :—

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention :—In presenting a name to this convention, I speak for the united Democracy of the State of New Jersey, whose loyalty to

HON. DON M. DICKINSON.

Born in Port Ontario, Oswego co., N. Y., January 17, 1847; graduated at University of Michigan, 1867; studied law and admitted to bar; rose rapidly to distinction in his profession and acquired a large practice; Chairman of Michigan State Democratic Committee in 1876, and 1880 Chairman of Michigan Delegation in National Convention; represented Michigan in Democratic National Committee since 1884; appointed by President Cleveland to be Postmaster-General, January 17, 1888; an able official and popular party leader.

the Democratic principles, faithful service to the party, and whose contributions to its success entitle it to the respectful consideration of the Democracy of the United States. Its electoral vote has always been cast in support of Democratic principles and Democratic candidates. [Cheers.]

"In voicing the unanimous wish of the delegation from New Jersey, I present as their candidate for the suffrage of this convention the name of a distinguished Democratic statesman, born upon its soil, for whom in the two great Presidential contests the State of New Jersey has given its electoral vote. [Cheers.]

"The supreme consideration in the mind of the Democracy of New Jersey is the success of the Democratic party and its principles. We have been in the past and will be in the future ready at all times to sacrifice personal preference in deference to the clear expressions of the will of the Democracy of the Union. It is because this name will awaken throughout our State the enthusiasm of the Democracy and insure success, it is because he represents the great Democratic principles and policy upon which this entire convention is a unit; it is because we believe that with him as a candidate the Democracy of the Union will sweep the country and establish its principles throughout the length and breadth of the land that we offer to the convention as a nominee, the choice of New Jersey, Grover Cleveland. [Applause.]

"If any doubt existed in the minds of the Democrats of New Jersey of his ability to lead the great Democratic hosts to victory, they would not present his name to-day. With them success of the party and the establishment of its principles are beyond their love and admiration for any man. [Cheers.] We feel certain that every Democratic State, though its preference may be for some other distinguished Democrat, will give its warm, enthusiastic and earnest support to the nominee of this convention. The man whom we present will rally to his party thousands of independent voters, whose choice is determined by their personal conviction that the candidate will represent principles dear to them, and whose public life and policy give assurance that

if chosen by the people they will secure an honest, pure and conservative administration and the great interest of the country will be encouraged and protected.

"The time will come when other distinguished Democrats who have been mentioned in connection with this nomination will receive that consideration to which the great services they have rendered their party entitled them, but we stand to-day in the presence of the fact that the majority of the Democratic masses throughout the country, the rank and file, the millions of its voters demand the nomination of Grover Cleveland. [Cheers.]

"This sentiment is so strong and overpowering that it has effected and controlled the actions of delegates who would otherwise present the name of some distinguished leader of their own State, with whom they feel victory would be assured and in whom the entire country would feel confidence, but the people have spoken and favorite sons and leaders are standing aside in obedience to their will. [Cheers.]

"Shall we listen to the voice of the Democracy of the Union? Shall we place on our banner the man of our choice, the man in whom they believe, or shall we for any consideration of policy or expediency hesitate to obey their will? [Cheers.]

"I have sublime faith in the expression of the people when it is clear and decisive. When the question before them is one that has excited discussion and debate; when it appeals to their interests and their feelings, and calls for the exercise of their judgment, and they then say they want this man and we can elect him, we, their representatives, must not disobey nor disappoint them. It is incumbent upon us to obey their wishes and concur in their judgment; then, having given them the candidate of their choice, they will give us their best, their most energetic efforts to secure success [Cheers.]

"We confidently rely upon the loyal and successful work of the Democratic leaders who have advocated other candidates. We know that in the great State across the river from New Jersey, now controlled by the Democratic party,

there is no Democrat who will shirk the duty of making every effort to secure the success of the candidate of this convention, notwithstanding his judgment may differ from that of the majority. The Democracy of New York and its great leaders, whose efforts and splendid generalship have given to us a Democratic Senator and Governor, will always be true to the great party they represent; they will not waver, nor will they rest in the coming canvass until they have achieved success.

"Their grand victories of the past, their natural and honorable ambition, their unquestioned Democracy, will make them arise and fight as never before, and with those that they represent and lead they will march in the great independent vote and we will again secure Democratic victory in New York. The grand Democrats under whose leadership the city and State of New York are now governed will give to the cause the great benefit of their organizations.

"The thundering echoes of this convention announcing the nomination of Grover Cleveland will not have died out over the hills and through the valleys of this land before you will hear and see all our leaders rallying to the support of our candidate. They will begin their efforts for organization and success, and continue their work until victory crowns their efforts.

"All Democrats will fight for victory, and they will succeed because the principles of the party enunciated here are for the best interests of the country at large, and because the people of this land have unquestioning faith that Grover Cleveland will give the country a pure, honest and stable government, and an administration by which the great business interests of the country and the agricultural and labor interests of the masses will receive proper and due consideration.

"The question has been asked why it is that the masses of the party demand the nomination of Grover Cleveland? Why is it that this man who has no office to distribute, no wealth to command, should have stirred the spontaneous support of the great body of Democracy? Why is it that

with all that has been urged against him the people still cry give us Cleveland? Why is it, though he has pronounced in honest, clear and able language his views upon questions upon which some of his party may differ with him that he is still near and dear to the masses?

"It is because he has crystallized into a living issue the great principle upon which this battle is to be fought out. If he did not create tariff reform, he made it a Presidential issue. He vitalized it, and presented it to our party as the issue for which we ought to fight and continue to battle until upon it victory is now assured.

"There are few men in his position who would have the courage to boldly make the issue and present it so clearly and forcibly as he did in his great message of 1887. I believe that his policy then was to force a national issue which would appeal to the judgment of the people. We must honor a man who is honest enough and bold enough under such circumstances to proclaim that the success of the party upon principles is better than evasion or shirking of true national issues for temporary success. When victory is obtained upon a principle, it forms the solid foundation of party success in the future. It is no longer the question of a battle to be won on the mistakes of our foes, but it is a victory to be accomplished by a charge along the whole line under the banner of principle.

"There is another reason why the people demand his nomination. They feel that the tariff reform views of President Cleveland and the principles laid down in his great message, whatever its temporary effect may have been, give us a live and a vital issue to fight for, which has made the great victories since 1888 possible. It consolidated in one solid phalanx the Democracy of the nation. In every State of this Union that policy has been placed in Democratic platforms, and our battles have been fought upon it, and this great body of representative Democrats have seen its good results.

"Every man in this Convention recognizes the policy of the party. In Massachusetts it gave us a 'Russell;' in Iowa it gave us a 'Boies' In Wisconsin it gave us a 'Peck' for

HON. JOHN G. CARLISLE.

Born in Kenton co., Ky., September 5, 1835; educated in common schools and as teacher; admitted to bar, 1858; member of Kentucky State Legislature, 1859–61; elected to State Senate, 1866 and 1869; elected Lieutenant-Governor of State, 1871; elected to 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th and 51st Congresses; presided as Speaker of House in 48th, 49th and 50th Congresses; a dignified officer and skilled parliamentarian; elected to United States Senate, as Democrat, to succeed Senator Beck, deceased, May 17, 1890; member of Committees on Finance, Territories, Canadian Relations, Indian Depredations and Woman's Suffrage; conspicuous in party affairs and a recognized exponent of Democratic thought.

Governor and Vilas for Senator. In Michigan it gave us Winans for Governor, and gave us a Democratic Legislature, and will give us eight electoral votes for President. In 1889, in Ohio, it gave us James Campbell for Governor, and in 1891, to defeat him, it required the power, the wealth, and the machinery of the entire Republican party.

"In Pennsylvania it gave us Robert E. Pattison; in Connecticut it gave us a Democratic Governor who was kept out of office by the infamous conduct of the Republican party. In New Hampshire it gave us a Legislature of which we were defrauded. In Illinois it gave us a Palmer for Senator, and in Nebraska it gave us Boyd for Governor. In the great Southern States it has continued in power Democratic Governors and Democratic Legislatures. In New Jersey the power of the Democracy has been strengthened and the Legislature and Executive are both Democratic. In the great State of New York it gave us Hill for Senator and Roswell P. Flower for Governor. [Loud cheering.]

"With all these glorious achievements it is the wisest and best party policy to nominate again the man whose policy made these successes possible. The people believe that these victories which gave us a Democratic House of Representatives in 1890, and Democratic Governors and Senators in Republican and doubtful States are due to the courage and wisdom of Grover Cleveland. And so believing they recognize him as their great leader.

"In presenting his name to the Convention, it is no reflection upon any of them as the leaders of the party. The victories which have been obtained are not alone the heritage of these States; they belong to the whole party. I feel that every Democratic State and that every individual Democrat has reason to rejoice and be proud and applaud these splendid successes. The candidacy of Grover Cleveland is not a reflection upon others. It is not antagonistic to any great Democratic leader. He comes before this Convention, not as the candidate of any one State—he is the choice of the great majority of Democratic voters.

"The Democracy of New Jersey, therefore, presents to this Convention, in this, the people's year, the nominee of

the people, the plain, blunt, honest citizens, the idol of the Democratic masses—Grover Cleveland." [Cheers.]

When Governor Abbett named Cleveland the hurrah of an hour before was repeated. The delegates sprang to their feet, many of them mounted the chairs, hats were thrown into the air, and the noise of the cheering was deafening.

The nomination was seconded by half a score of speakers from different States, who vied with each other in praise of Mr. Cleveland and whose eloquence contributed to the incessant flow of good feeling and applause.

Balloting at length began. It was late, and the end of the first ballot was not reached till 3.30 in the morning. But it was most decisive. The well-managed Cleveland forces had stuck to their man and their faith, and had crowned both with victory. They had rolled up far more votes than the necessary two-thirds required to nominate, and had made the "man of destiny" again their standard-bearer. The nomination was made unanimous, amid a storm of applause.

FIGURES OF THE BALLOT.

States.	Cleveland.	Hill.	Boies.	Morrison.	Campbell.	Gorman.	Carlisle.	Stevenson.	Pattison.	Russell.	Whitney.
Alabama	14	2	1	2	2	1					
Arkansas	16										
California	18										
Colorado	..	3	5								
Connecticut	12										
Delaware	6										
Florida	5	..	..	..	..	..	3				
Georgia	17	5	..	..	..	4					
Idaho	..	..	6								
Illinois	48										
Indiana	30										
Iowa	..	..	26								
Kansas	20										
Kentucky	18	..	2	..	..	..	6				

States.	Cleveland.	Hill.	Boies.	Morrison.	Campbell.	Gorman.	Carlisle.	Stevenson.	Pattison.	Russell.	Whitney.
Louisiana	3	1	11	..	..	1					
Maine	9	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Maryland	6	..	..	..	..	9½					
Massachusetts	24	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Michigan	28										
Minnesota	18										
Mississippi	8	3	3	..	..	4					
Missouri	34										
Montana	..	..	6								
Nebraska	15	..	..	..	..	1					
Nevada	..	..	4	..	..	2					
New Hampshire	8										
New Jersey	20										
New York	..	72									
North Carolina	3⅓	1	1	..	..	..	..	16⅔			
North Dakota	6										
Ohio	14	6	16	..	..	5	5				
Oregon	8										
Pennsylvania	64										
Rhode Island	8										
South Carolina	2	3	13								
South Dakota	7	..	1								
Tennessee	24										
Texas	23	1	6								
Vermont	8										
Virginia	12	11	..	..	..	1					
Washington	8										
West Virginia	7	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	1		
Wisconsin	24										
Wyoming	3	..	..	..	..	3					
Territories.											
Alaska	2										
Arizona	5	..	..	..	..	1					
District of Columbia	2										
New Mexico	4	1	1								
Oklahoma	2										
Utah	2										
Indian	2										
Totals	617⅓	115	103	2	2	36½	14	16⅔	1	1	1

Number of votes cast, 909½.
Necessary to choice, 607.

PLATFORM OF 1892.

PLEDGE OF PRINCIPLES.—The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in National Con-

vention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of nine of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government, through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free, popular government, based on Home Rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strike at the very roots of our government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

THE FORCE BILL.—We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections to which the Republican party has committed itself is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing a monarchy on the ruins of the republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place, armed with Federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority; the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States; the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power and the reviving of race antagonisms, now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all—a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate." Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first intrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to resist oppression which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago

this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but, in contempt of that verdict, the Republican party has defiantly declared, in its latest authoritative utterance, that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force Bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

Believing that the preservation of Republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity; and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force Bill but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure, which in the short space of two years has squandered an enormous surplus and emptied an overflowing Treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

TARIFF AND LABOR.—The tariff plank as reported to the Convention by the Committee on Resolutions began as follows:—

"We reiterate the oft-repeated doctrines of the Democratic party that the necessity of the government is the only justification for taxations, and whenever a tax is unnecessary it is unjustifiable; that when Custom House taxation is levied upon articles of any kind produced in this country, the difference between the cost of labor here and labor abroad, when such a difference exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor, and the enormous additional impositions of the existing tariff fall with crushing force upon our farmers and workingmen, and, for the mere advantage of the few whom it enriches, exact from labor a grossly unjust share of the expenses of the government, and we demand such a revision of the tariff laws as will remove their iniquitous inequalities, lighten their oppressions and put them on a constitutional and equitable basis.

"But, in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to

injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government, taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice."

But the above was stricken out by a majority vote in Convention, and the plank as adopted read as follows:—

We denounce Republican Protection as a fraud—as a robbery of a great majority of the American people for the benefit of a few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the government has no constitutional power to impose and collect a dollar for tax except for purposes of revenue only, and demand that the collection of such taxes be imposed by the government when only honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley Tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation: we endorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in entrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dulness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural

surplus the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the Sheriff.

RECIPROCITY.—Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a Custom House barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our own people.

TRUSTS.—We recognize in the trusts and combinations which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade; but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

PUBLIC LANDS.—The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the

Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

SILVER COINAGE.—We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman Act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts, and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as specially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenceless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

BANK TAXATION.—We recommend that the prohibitory ten per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

PUBLIC OFFICES.—Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876 for the reform of the Civil Service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican Convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal

HON. CHARLES F. CRISP.

Born in Sheffield, England, January 29, 1845, of American parents; educated in common schools of Savannah and Macon, Ga.; entered Confederate army, May, 1861; a prisoner of war, 1864–65; studied law in Americus, Ga., and admitted to bar, 1866; practiced in Ellaville; appointed Solicitor-general in 1872 and again in 1873; moved to Americus in 1873; appointed Judge of Superior Court, 1876, and elected to same, 1878; re-elected Judge, 1880; elected to 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st and 52d Congresses; elected Speaker of House in 52d Congress, after a long and exciting canvass, his leading opponent being Roger Q. Mills, of Texas.

office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

FOREIGN POLICY.—The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our neighbors on the American Continent, whose destiny is closely linked with our own; and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defence and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

FOREIGN OPPRESSION.—This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience sake—and in the spirit of the founders of our government we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our national government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar and to secure to the oppressed equal rights.

We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for Home Rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

CONTRACT LABOR.—We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration or the importation of foreign workmen under contract, to degrade American labor and lessen its wages; but we condemn and

denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

PENSIONS.—This convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents, but we demand that the work of the Pension Office shall be done industriously, impartially and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful and dishonest.

MISSISSIPPI IMPROVEMENTS. — The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tidewater. When any waterway of the republic is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the government, such aid should be extended on a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

NICARAGUA CANAL.—For purposes of national defence and the promotion of commerce between the States we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION. — Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the general government has invited the co-operation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation so extended, and the broad and liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

POPULAR EDUCATION.—Popular education being

the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty, as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

NEW STATES.—We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or district in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in Home Rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

RAILWAY EMPLOYES. — We favor legislation by Congress and State Legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employes and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

THE SWEATING SYSTEM.—We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor

and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

SUMPTUARY LAWS.—We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

FINAL REQUEST.—Upon this statement of principles and policies the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance, unimpaired, of institutions under which the republic has grown great and powerful.

On the third day of its session, June 23, 1892, the Convention nominated Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, as the Democratic candidate for Vice-President.

RECEPTION OF THE NEWS.

Promptly, on receipt of the news of his nomination, Mr. Cleveland authorized the following to be made public through Governor Russell, of Massachusetts:

"I should certainly be chargeable with dense insensibility if I were not profoundly touched by this new proof of the confidence and trust of the great party to which I belong and whose mandates claim my loyal obedience.

"I am confident that our fellow-countrymen are ready to receive with approval the principles of true Democracy, and I cannot rid myself of the belief that to win success it is only necessary to persistently and honestly advocate these principles.

"Differences of opinion and judgment in Democratic conventions are by no means unwholesome indications, but it is hardly conceivable in view of the importance of our success to the country and to the party that there should be anywhere among Democrats any lack of harmonious and

HON. ROGER Q. MILLS.

Born in Salem, Kentucky, in 1832; when seventeen years of age he emigrated to Texas; he became a lawyer, and when twenty-seven years of age was elected to the Texas Legislature; at the breaking out of the civil war he joined the Southern army as Colonel of a regiment of infantry; he was wounded a number of times, though not seriously, and, returning to his home at Corsicana, resumed the practice of his profession; in 1872 he was elected to Congress on the Democratic ticket, and has been returned at every subsequent election. His majority at the last election was over 16,000; Mr. Mills was always a tariff reformer, and he was entrusted by Speaker Carlisle in the Fiftieth Congress with the task of framing a tariff bill, which was the issue of the campaign of 1888, in which the Democrats were defeated; Mr. Mills was a candidate for Speaker for the present House, but Mr. Crisp secured the prize; elected to U. S. Senate, March 22, 1892, by unanimous vote of Texas Legislature.

active effort to win in the campaign which opens before us. I have, therefore, no concern on that subject.

"It will certainly be my constant endeavor to deserve the support of every Democrat."

SPREADING THE NEWS.

The triumph of Mr. Cleveland within the Democratic ranks is in many respects creditable to his party. It clarifies and simplifies the campaign. It contributes to a sharp, clear-cut, unmistakable battle of principles. On the main issue it means no juggle, no evasion, no subterfuge.—Philadelphia *Press.*

The nomination of Mr. Cleveland is the most encouraging political event which has occurred in this country since the war.—New York *Post.*

The issue was clearly made between the people and the "managers." The people wanted a man that they could trust. The "managers" wanted a man who would do their bidding. The people won. How could it have been otherwise? The Democratic party has triumphed over its bosses. This is a great victory which deserves celebration. —Baltimore *Evening News.*

The best Democratic citizenship has spoken at Chicago as the best Republican citizenship spoke at Minneapolis.—New York *Times.*

The triumphant nomination of Grover Cleveland on the first ballot in the Chicago Convention is a signal victory of the people over the managing and intriguing politicians.—Atlanta *Journal.*

The National Convention of the Democratic party at Chicago has once more vindicated its claim to be *par excellence* the people's party of the country, the best embodiment

of its sterling common-sense and innate sagacity as well as honesty of purpose.—Baltimore *Sun.*

Cleveland is to-day the most conspicuous representative of Democracy in its pristine simplicity, purity and fidelity to the people, and it is this conviction pervading the masses of the Democratic voters in all sections that asserted its omnipotence in the Convention and compelled leaders and tricksters and professional spoilsmen to bow to the imperious command of honest Democracy.—Philadelphia *Times.*

"*The next President must be a Democrat.*"

We intend to see that pledge fulfilled, and to this end we invoke and expect to receive the aid of all true Democrats. —New York *World.*

Grover Cleveland will be the next President of the United States.—Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier.*

We expect Mr. Cleveland to sweep the country.—Richmond *Dispatch.*

Now is the time for all Democrats to get together and work together.—Birmingham, Ala., *Age-Journal.*

There is victory in the man and platform.—Columbus *Enquirer-Sun.*

Mr. Cleveland stands pre-eminently for policies of reform. It was for this he was nominated.—Chattanooga *Times.*

There is nothing artificial or insincere about the Cleveland movement.—Atlanta *Constitution.*

For a third time Mr. Cleveland's name will symbolize the cause of pure and honest politics and government.—Galveston-Dallas *News.*

The triumphant nomination of Grover Cleveland as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency is a marked honor, both to the man and to the party.—Indianapolis *Sentinel.*

In Mr. Cleveland the Democratic party has a leader whom all Democrats can trust; whom all Americans in all parties can trust, for whether they agree with him or not they know that he is a sincere, candid, honest, manly American; a man of the people; full of sympathy for the masses, with a genuine American aversion to classes.—St. Louis *Republic.*

Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICE

OF

Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson.

HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President on the ticket with Grover Cleveland, was born in Christian county, Kentucky, October 23, 1835. His ancestry settled at a very early period of Colonial history in North Carolina, and there rose to distinction, one of them being a signer of the celebrated Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

His parents sought fortune in the West and moved to Kentucky, settling in Christian county. They were a plain, sturdy, well-to-do people who brought along with them the convictions that had rendered the name famous for generations, and which were to give character and fame to their offspring.

Young Stevenson received his preliminary education in the common schools of his native county. He was a youth of more than ordinary promise, being industrious, bright and acquisitive to a degree that found him fitted for higher studies at an early age.

In 1852 his parents moved to Bloomington, Illinois, where young Stevenson entered the Wesleyan University and went through a course of study preparatory for college. He then entered Centre College at Danville, Kentucky, and com-

pleted his education. He stood well in his classes, and was a favorite with both fellows and professors. Among his classmates were Senator J. C. S. Blackburn, Governor McCreary, of Kentucky, and others who afterwards distinguished themselves at the bar and in public life.

After graduating he began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1858. He began practice in Metamora, Woodford county, Illinois, and remained there till 1868, a period of ten years. He soon found himself in the enjoyment of a lucrative practice and in the midst of a wide and encouraging popularity. As a recognition of his character and talent he received the appointment of Master in Chancery of the Circuit Court, which position he occupied for a period of four years. He was then chosen District Attorney, which office he held for four years, and which he administered with ability and fidelity.

During these years he became identified with politics, and such had been the character of his administrations of office and such his growth in popular estimation that the people of his district selected him as a Presidential Elector in 1864. He entered the campaign for General McClellan with all the ardor of youth and all the intensity of deep conviction, and proved himself one of the ablest of campaignists. His Democracy was of uncompromising quality and he gained a deep place in the affections of his party. His industry was of the most energetic and persevering type, and in his stumping tour of the State he visited nearly every county.

At the expiration of his term as District Attorney in 1868 he moved to Bloomington, Ill., where he formed a law partnership with his cousin, J. S. Ewing, which connection is retained to date. This firm came into the enjoyment of an extensive law practice, and took rank with the first in the

State. The cases which came under its control were of great magnitude, and not a few of them proved to be of State and national importance. Mr. Stevenson enjoyed a reputation as a lawyer which any practitioner might envy. He was recognized as able in every branch of law, as indefatigable in the preparation and prosecution of cases, and as devoted to the interests of his clients. He was an eloquent pleader, and commanded the respect of both court and jury.

All the while he kept up his interest in politics and continually enlarged his influence with the masses of his party. His traits of fairness and frankness, and of unswerving devotion to his political principles, as well as of adhesion to the methods which insure party success, won for him a strength and popularity which augured well for his future standing in party councils.

When quite young he married Miss Lettie Green, the handsome and accomplished daughter of President Green, of Centre College at Danville, Ky., a profound scholar, and a minister of high standing.

In 1874 Mr. Stevenson was honored by his party with the nomination for Congress in the Bloomington District. Such a nomination meant the leadership of a forlorn hope, for the district was counted as safely Republican by a majority of three thousand. The situation was especially desperate at that time, for his opponent was General McNulta, who was regarded as one of the best stumpers and debaters in the State, and who was strong with his party. But Stevenson plunged into the canvass with an ardor and persistency characteristic of him. He fought every inch of ground with bravery and ability, and made one of the hottest and most interesting canvasses of modern times. If a winner, it would be a surprising and glorious victory. If

defeated, he would go down with his flag flying and with the admiration of friend and foe for his gallant efforts. This campaign showed precisely of what stuff Stevenson was made. He was a Napoleon in energy, a Ney in tactics, a Taylor in persistency. That the campaign grew bitter as it grew excited was to be expected, but it was not the fault of either candidate, so much as the indiscretion of their friends. The war was waged unremittingly till the polls closed.

During this malignant and scorching campaign Mr. Stevenson was forced to meet and demolish the charge that he was not in sympathy with the Union and that he had been a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle. He showed that he had never been a member of any society, except the fraternities connected with his college, and the remarkable result of his campaign fully vindicated him from the aspersions cast upon him. Speaking of the malicious story then circulated for the purpose of encompassing his defeat, he has taken occasion to say:—

"While I was not in the army I favored every method for the suppression of the rebellion by force of arms and gave every action toward that end my cordial sympathy and support. On the 4th day of July, 1861, I delivered a eulogy on the life of Stephen A. Douglas at Metamora, Woodford County. I was always an admirer of Douglas and agreed with him as to his position in regard to the war. In that speech I spoke firmly and unwaveringly in support of the Union and for the suppression of the rebellion. When Colonel Sidwell, of Woodford County, set out to raise a regiment of Union soldiers, I accompanied him on his mission, made speeches and in every way aided him in the work, for which service he afterwards gave me a written expression of thanks.

"In 1874 I was elected to Congress by a large majority

in this district, which just before had given 3000 Republican majority, and defeated General McNulta, a gallant Union soldier. It is not likely that this could have been accomplished by a man whose loyalty was doubted, and mind you, I was elected to represent the people of a district who had once been represented in Congress by Abraham Lincoln. I desire again to state, as strongly as it is possible to state, that there is not one word of truth in the charge that I was disloyal to the Union, in thought or deed, or that I ever belonged to or sympathized with or knew of the existence of such an organization as the Knights of the Golden Circle."

The result of this election was astounding to both sides. He had overcome quite three thousand opposition majority and had turned it into a Democratic majority of nearly twelve hundred. Such a revolution is seldom witnessed, especially in stable communities. It was largely a personal triumph, and it greatly augmented his fame as a politician and his standing as a popular, lion-hearted man. It gave him a prestige in his party which only needed cultivation and opportunity to establish him as among its chief advisers.

His career in Congress was that of a thorough-going Democrat. He did not originate measures, but he proved to be a staunch advocate of all that was Democratic, a safe and shrewd adviser, and a reliable exponent of party measures. He retired with honors, and with a career that greatly endeared him to his constituency. He had made a mark for industry, for courage in debate, for consistency, earnestness and ability, which laid the foundation of other favors.

In 1876 his party renominated him for Congress. Again he fought the ground minutely and persistently. But conditions had changed, and after a brilliant battle he was forced to acknowledge a defeat. It was one of those defeats, however, which did not diminish the glory of the van-

quished. He lost nothing in the esteem of his friends and gained in the estimation of his enemies. The fates that had favored him proved fickle. The show had been desperate from the first.

Such was the esteem in which he was held by his party, and such its confidence in his ability to fight against odds, that they renominated him for Congress in 1878. All know the thankless character of that undertaking which involves candidacy in a district where opposition is confidently intrenched. It is the bearing of a flag in despair, with no recompense except the comfort of conserving party discipline. It is the costliest service one can render, in that it is so sacrificial of the time of the standard-bearer. This sacrifice Stevenson was willing to make. This despair did not impair his resolution. He entered the canvass with renewed ardor. Behind him was a solid Democracy. He inclined to a more extended currency, and would certainly receive the support of all those who had identified themselves with the "Greenback" movement, then so popular, and before which both of the great parties trembled. He made a campaign which was active, brilliant, convincing, and walked away with the honors, having rolled up a majority in his district of nearly 2,000, carrying every county. This result was simply phenomenal, and impossible with any other man than General Stevenson.

It must here be said that the title "General" is merely honorary. He did not originate it, nor does he care for its use. It came to him through others, and if it has allusion to one characteristic more than another, it may be to that happy knack of marshalling his forces in a desperate campaign and of fighting his political battles without reference to the comfort of the enemy. When Grant came East and was asked his opinion of the battles of the Potomac he

could find no fault with their plans but laconically remarked, "They don't appear to have been fought out." Stevenson's battles are not open to this objection. They were not only skilfully planned but always fought out. The heroic abides in him. He could not be half of a Democrat if he tried.

His career in Congress for his second term duplicated his first for industry, consistency and pertinacity. If not as showy as others, he was true, and his party knew exactly where to find him. He retired once more with honors, and such a confidence on the part of his friends as that forgetfulness was out of the question.

In 1880 he was again nominated for Congress. But political conditions had changed since his last election and the times were unpropitious. The "Greenback" swell had subsided, and his chief reliance must be on a straight party vote in a hopelessly Republican district. But he allowed nothing to go by default. He fought with desperation and kept his party lines intact. His defeat was accomplished only after herculean effort on the part of his foes and by much less than a normal majority. Defeat occasioned no loss of prestige; if anything it fixed him firmer in the affections and councils of his party.

In 1882 Mr. Stevenson again yielded to the desire of his party and became a candidate for Congress on the straight Democratic ticket. He saw from the beginning the desperate character of the undertaking, for political matters had resumed their old ruts, and the possibility of drawing from the enemy was remote. Nevertheless he made a rattling campaign and called forth all the fighting qualities of his opponents. He was defeated by the normal majority of the district, which might be said to average about 2700, in an off year.

On his retiracy from Congress in 1881 he resumed the practice of the law, which he conducted with success and profit, as before. But his interest in politics did not cease. He was consulted by the party leaders in his State, and was regarded as the ablest of organizers and the most courageous of workers and exponents. In 1884 he was elected a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, where he made most favorable impression by earnestness of speech and commanding personal presence.

By virtue of his services at this Convention, of his excellent standing in his community, of his conceded legal and administrative ability, he was appointed First Assistant Postmaster-General under the Cleveland Administration, July 6, 1885. An important function of this office is the appointment of postmasters, below the grade of Presidential appointees. It is, therefore, easy to see that the main duty is one of great delicacy, yet of momentous importance. It requires great care and discrimination, wonderful patience and pertinacity, and, as custom has it, an amount of fearlessness and party devotion which few men can exercise, amid a harrowing environment. Duty overdone is as perilous as duty underdone; and to measure the exact amount of duty requires discrimination of an exalted order.

Mr. Stevenson came up to the full standard of an able and uncompromising official. He had full grasp of the situation, was painstaking and industrious, conscientious in his desire to better the service. If removals and appointments were frequent, he had excellent precedent for his action. If in the course of his administration he brought about a change in the political complexion of the service, his action had the sanction of time-honored custom and met the demands of his party. The quality of his own politics had always been of the sterling type, and his sense of both duty and pro-

HON. ARTHUR P. GORMAN.

Born in Howard co., Md., March 11, 1839; appointed Senate page, 1852, and continued in service till 1866; served as Collector of Internal Revenue for Fifth Maryland District, 1866–69; elected as Democrat to Maryland Legislature, November, 1869. Re-elected 1871, and became Speaker of House; elected to State Senate, 1875; re-elected in 1879; elected to United States Senate, 1880; re-elected, 1886 and 1892; prominent exponent of Democratic thought and recognized leader; name familiar in connection with the Presidency; ability as an organizer conceded by all; member of Committees on Appropriations, Commerce, Inter-State Commerce, Printing, etc.; a director of Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company.

priety would have been outraged if he had not employed the power and opportunity at his disposal to perfect the service through agents in harmony with his own and the political views of his Chief.

He proved to be an affable and popular official in a place full of embarrassments. He earned the respect of all his subordinates and associates, and the confidence of all his superiors. He held his position with honor and daily growing popularity till the end of Mr. Cleveland's term, when he retired to resume his profession, with the best wishes of all with whom he had been connected, whose numbers were legion, and with the proud consciousness that he had left the postal service of the land in a better condition than he found it.

Upon his retiracy Mr. Stevenson not only resumed his profession, but greatly enlarged his business connections. Besides his interest in other substantial affairs, he was made President of the Interstate Building and Loan Association of Bloomington, which institution was incorporated and started in 1889.

Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson is of tall, well-proportioned, commanding figure, not inclined to corpulency; his features are regular and his face expressive; his forehead is high and well shaped; his hair is light and rather thin; his eyes are blue and keen; his moustache is light colored. He has an agreeable manner, and his voice is pleasant in conversation. In public address his voice is clear and penetrating. The nervousness noticeable when he begins to speak passes away and is entirely lost in his earnestness. He stands high as an orator and debater, and as a pleader at the bar he ranks with the best in his State. In society he is dignified and graceful. His hand-shake is warm and assuring,

and he has that happy faculty of remembering names perfectly, which counts for so much with men in public life.

He is, like Cleveland, an adherent of the Presbyterian denomination, and in his private life a model of morality, with no bad habits. He is devoted to his family and his family is devoted to him. In Bloomington, where he lives, in a modest but thoroughly comfortable house, as in Washington, where he never felt rich enough to keep house or entertain, he is most popular with those who know him best.

One of the last official acts of Mr. Cleveland was to nominate Mr. Stevenson for Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, but the Republican Senate failed to act upon this nomination, and it fell through with the end of the administration. In 1877 Mr. Hayes honored him with the appointment of a place on the Board to inspect the Military Academy at West Point. The recent Illinois Democratic State Convention elected him one of the delegates at large to the National Democratic Convention at Chicago, and he was therefore a member of the body which was to confer further honors on himself.

Though Mr. Stevenson's name had been mentioned in connection with the Vice-Presidency for some time before the Chicago Convention, other names appeared to be more prominent. After the Convention assembled, and a comparison of notes had been had, it was generally conceded that the nomination would go to Hon. Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana. Geographically he occupied a "coign of vantage." Consideration of his name, and even the inducement of a nomination, operated as a cohesive force upon the Indiana delegation, and perhaps influenced them in favor of Mr. Cleveland. At any rate, as affairs shaped up in the Convention, Mr. Gray's name was most conspicuously before it till the hour of making nominations came. Then came his

period of weakness. The geographic idea lost its force, and other questions of expediency arose, among which was the one that Illinois was, equally with Indiana, a doubtful State, and might be carried by a man of Mr. Stevenson's wonderful energy, popularity and organizing ability. But whether this were so or not, his name at any rate would carry greater weight throughout the land, and round out the ticket with a more perfect symmetry.

On the third day of the Convention's session, June 23, 1892, the roll was called for nominations for the Vice-Presidency. Arkansas yielded to Indiana, and the name of Hon. Isaac P. Gray was placed in nomination by Hon. John E. Lamb, in a pleasing speech and amid much applause. When Colorado was called, she yielded to Illinois, when ex-Congressman Worthington arose, amid general cheering, and presented the name of Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson. He spoke in part as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Delegates:—Illinois has presented no Presidential candidate to this Convention. But for the Vice-Presidency, for the second highest place in the gift of the people, it has a candidate so fully equipped by nature and education that it feels that it would be a political fault to fail to urge his name for nomination.

"He is a big-bodied, big-hearted, big-brained man; a man of commanding presence, of dignified mien: a man whose courtesy in his every-day manners is rarely equalled and never excelled; a man who in the administration of his duties in the last Democratic Administration was the beau ideal of an honest, honorable, useful and efficient Democratic office-holder, like his great leader.

"Will you help us give the twenty-four electoral votes to Grover Cleveland? If you will vote for the man whose name I now present, a man who does not have to get a certificate from a labor organization to prove that he is a friend of the people [applause]; a man that we all love—give us Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois." [Prolonged applause.]

This address was received with vociferous applause and it was easy to understand that the nomination had opened a new trend of sentiment in the Convention. The nomination was seconded by Kentucky and North Carolina.

The names of Chief-Justice Allen B. Morse, of Michigan, and Hon. John L. Mitchell, of Wisconsin, were also placed in nomination, but it was plain that the contest was to lie between Stevenson and Gray.

The balloting showed the following figures :—Stevenson, 402; Gray, 343; Morse, 86; Mitchell, 45; Watterson, 26.

But before this result was announced, Iowa was recognized and changed its twenty-six votes from Watterson to Stevenson. This started the stampede and Montana threw her six votes to Stevenson, followed by Nebraska and Nevada who gave their solid vote.

Ohio changed forty-six votes to Stevenson. Oregon changed eight votes to Stevenson. Tennessee changed to Stevenson. Texas changed to Stevenson. This was sufficient to nominate Stevenson, and on motion the rules were suspended and he was nominated by acclamation.

After his nomination General Stevenson held an informal reception at the Palmer House, and was warmly congratulated by a host of his friends and supporters, who regarded his success as propitious of a larger success in November.

On the reception of the news at his home in Bloomington, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed throughout the entire county among the people of all parties, and preparations for an elaborate greeting, on his return home, were at once begun.

The country accepted the nomination as an unusually strong one, and interpreted the entire action of the Convention as the wisest possible, every line of political thought being considered.

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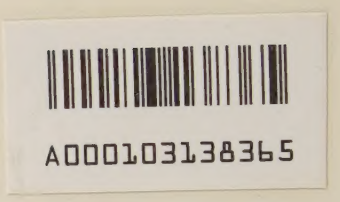
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